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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire

Archæological Society

FOR 1884-85.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol & Gloucestershire

Archaeological Society

FOR 1884-85.

Edited by SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., &c.

VOL. IX.

BRISTOL:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY C. T. JEFFERIES AND SONS
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The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desires that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statements made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society. The Authors are alone responsible for their several Papers and Communications, and the Editor for the Notices on Books.

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* The Society is indebted to Messrs. W. & H. Smith, Printers and Booksellers, Evesham, for the loan of the blocks for these illustrations.

† A moiety of the cost of these Plates was liberally paid by the Author.

** The Society is indebted to the late Rev. H. T. Ellacombe for the use of these blocks.

‖ Mr. W. T. Allen obligingly presented the drawings for these Plates.

‡ The drawings for these plates were kindly presented by the author.

§ Mr. Waugh, of Monmouth, kindly lent the Electrotype of this engraving.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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Page 228, line 4, after *almoner* insert full stop and begin new sentence.

,, 324 ,, 23, for *Audry* read *Awdry*.

,, 325 ,, 22, for *have* read *has*.

,, 327 ,, 11, insert full stop after *Homo Bulla*.

,, 328 ,, 8 of inscription, for *Pulpitq* read *Pulpitiq*.

,, ,, ,, 9, for *Concionatur* read *Concionator*.

,, ,, ,, 11, for *fractisq* read *factisq*.

,, 321 ,, 17, transfer this line to below line commencing "Ubi," &c., and in the last mentioned line for *episcopates* read *episcopales*."

,, 339 first descent—for *Audrys* read *Awdrys*.

,, 341 last descent—for *Colingsby* read *Coningsby*.

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Page 67. The *Surplice* and *Almuce*. Since Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley's valuable monograph on the Ecclesiastical Effigies in Gloucestershire was printed another interesting example of a secular canon habited, as those at Bitton, in cassock, surplice, almuce and cope has been brought under notice in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries just issued. It is represented on a wooden effigy formerly in the church of All Saints, Derby, and cast out on the "destructive restoration" of that church in 1873. It is believed to be the effigy of Robert Johnson, who was sub-dean as late as 1527. It is gratifying to know that the fragments of this effigy, which is considered, as the *wooden* effigy of a priest, to be unique, have been recovered by the Derby Archæological Society, and that by the same Society measures are being adopted for the preservation of the remains of this very interesting monument. (For particulars see Proc. Soc. Antiq., 2nd series Vol. X., pp. 63-66).

Page 91, line 6, for *Grace Dien* read *Grace Dieu*.

,, 19, after *Carpenter* delete full stop and insert comma.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD AT EVESHAM, ON

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 23rd, 24th and 25th July, 1884.

THE Ninth Annual Summer meeting of the Society was held at Evesham on the days above mentioned. Though the weather had been remarkably fine during the month of June and the early part of July, it became very broken and stormy about the middle of the latter month, and continued so through the days of the meeting, which, in no small degree, interfered with the comfort of the members, though it did not damp their enthusiasm.

The arrangements were, as usual, very effectively made by a local committee consisting of the following gentlemen:—The Rev. G. DRINKWATER BOURNE, M.A. *(Chairman)*; The Revs. MARTIN AMPHLETT, J. R. BARKER, S. E. BARTLEET, N. G. BATT, J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D., B. DAVIS, T. H. HUNT, A. H. WINNINGTON INGRAM *(Hon. Canon of Worcester)*, F. WILLOUGHBY JONES, G. S. MORRIS, P. NORRIS, G. W. PHILLIPS, S. TAYLOR, S. WALKER, and F. E. B. WITTS; The Worshipful the MAYOR OF EVESHAM (Mr. Wm. Gardner); Messrs. THOMAS ADKINS, ISAAC AVERILL, JETHRO BRACHER, H. BURLINGHAM, R. N. CHADWICK, GEORGE EADES, EDGAR FLOWER, G. H. FOSBROKE, G. H. GARRARD, S. G. HAMILTON, A. L. HAYNES, G. HUNT, J. W. JAYNES, JOHN LOXLEY, A. H. MARTIN, HERBERT NEW, C. G. PRANCE, E. C. RUDGE, A. H. SAVORY, T. S. SHEKELL, J. SLADDEN, T. J. SLATTER, R. F. TOMES, and W. SMITH, of whom Mr. Slatter was good enough to act as Local Treasurer, and Messrs. New and Tomes as Local Secretaries.

The Town Hall and Council Chamber were courteously placed at the disposal of the Society by the Mayor and Corporation, and the rooms of the Evesham Institute by the Council of that body. The latter rooms were appropriated as the reception room, dining and breakfast room, and for other purposes, and the former for holding the meetings and for the Temporary Museum.

The Society was officially received by the Mayor and Corporation at the Town Hall at noon, on Wednesday, the 25th. Among the members of the Society present were Sir W. V. GUISE, Bart. *(President of the Council)*, Sir JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.; the Revs. W. T. ALLEN, W. BAZELEY *(Hon. Sec.)*, W. T. BLATHWAYT, S. E. BARTLEET, Dr. CALDICOTT *(Hon. Sec.)*, J. EMERIS, W. BAGNAL-OAKELEY, &c.; Colonel FORBES; Messrs. W. ADLAM, T. B. BRAVENDER, J. H. COOKE, F.S.A. E. A. D'ARGENT, H. DERHAM, K. H.

FRYER (*Mayor of Gloucester*), W. GEORGE, G. HARTLAND, W. LEIGH, R. M. LINGWOOD, J. MURCH, C. PLAYNE, P. D. PLANKERD, C. P. PRITCHETT, F. PROTHEROE, S. H. SWAYNE, W. UREN, &c., most of the members of the local committee, and many ladies and friends of the members and other visitors.

The MAYOR OF EVESHAM (Mr. Wm. Gardner), who was attired in his robe and chain of office, and had on the table before him the borough maces, addressed a few words to the Society. Speaking on behalf of himself, the Corporation, and the people of Evesham, he said they felt highly honoured by the presence of the Society in this town, and he wished to give the members a hearty welcome. He recalled the fact that in 1875 the British Archæological Society visited Evesham, and stated that when at Ragley, the Treasurer of that body spoke of the Evesham congress as having been as successful as any the Society had ever held. The meeting nine years ago lasted for a week. The present one would only last three days, but he trusted it might prove equally interesting, that the visitors would have reason to speak well of this ancient borough and the people in it; that they would be favoured with fine weather, and that on each day's trip they would enjoy the many antiquities that would come before their notice. The people of Evesham considered themselves highly favoured in living in what was known as the Garden of England. They felt proud of their streets, their bell tower, their parish churches and other places of worship, all well restored, their Grammar School, their Town Hall and Institute, their Cottage Hospital and School, and also the New Bridge and Workman Pleasure Grounds. If they referred to Mr. New's book "A Day at Evesham," which was well worthy of the author, they would see a sketch of the buildings formerly at the foot of the old bridge,[1] and he recommended them to compare that with the

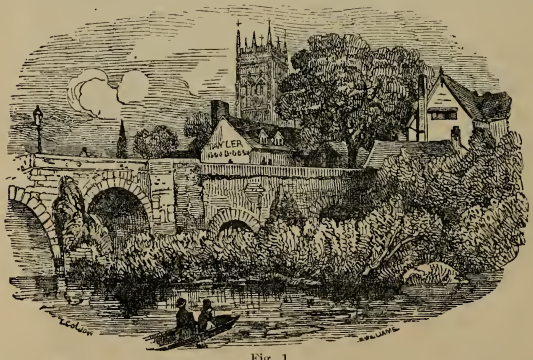

Fig. 1.

1 We are favoured by the publishers, Messrs. W. & H. Smith, with the loan of the wood block of the engraving alluded to by the Mayor (*Fig 1*). It represents the western portion of the picturesque old bridge, now destroyed. The arches are somewhat concealed by osier beds. The old house whereon the name of "Tayler" appears is that referred to in the charter of 1605 as the "Old Guild Hall." It was afterwards used as a Poor House. The old sycamore tree near it is well remembered.—ED.

aspect of the place as transformed within the last quarter-of-a-century. The borough, he was glad to say, was still improving and further permanent improvements were contemplated. They were lengthening the streets by new buildings which were erected in the hope that friends would come and live there. Adverting to the proposed visit to the churches and the site of the abbey, his worship said he could not do better than commend them to the care of the worthy vicar, the Rev. J. Ross Barker. He touched upon several points of interest in the abbey precincts, remarking as to the disposal of the ruins, and said that there was seldom an old building or wall taken down in the borough without some portions of carved stone or tracery richly cut being found which once formed part of the ancient abbey. After a few words upon the site of the battle-field, and in eulogy of Mr. New's ability as a guide to that historic spot, the Mayor said he felt honoured to sit there for a second term of office as Mayor, and especially so after being successful in the completion of very important sanitary works such as drainage and water supply, proper attention to which was so necessary to the health, comfort and happiness of the people. In conclusion he said he should have had pleasure in joining the Society during the next two days, but to keep a promise he made last year he was obliged to be in London that night. He wished the members three very enjoyable days, and gave them a hearty welcome to the borough of Evesham.

Sir WM. GUISE then took the chair, and in the course of a brief address said he was present on that occasion to do a duty which should have fallen upon another, namely, upon the President, Mr. Stafford Howard, M.P., from whom he had a letter expressing his extreme regret that an engagement in London prevented his being present on this occasion. As President of the Council he begged to convey their most hearty thanks to the Mayor for the very kind and cordial reception he had given them, and he only hoped that the weather might permit them to visit the very interesting antiquities which the district around them offered to their notice. Sir William then called upon

The Rev. Dr. CALDICOTT, who read the Report of the Council, the opening part of which was as follows :—

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

THE Council in presenting its Report for the year 1883-84 to the members of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society has to congratulate them on the valuable work done in the course of the year and on the general condition of the Society. The number of members at the present time is 511, against 518 at the corresponding period of last year. Of these 439 are annual subscribers, 79 are life members. During the past year 41 vacancies have occurred by death or resignation ; 3 of the deceased having been life members of the Society. The number of new members elected in the year is 34, of whom 4 are life members. On the 21st of April, 1883, the balance at the bankers to the credit of the Society was £237 8s. 6d. The income of the Society for the year ending April 21st, 1884, was £284 19s. 7d., making with the balance a sum of £519 8s. 1d., while the expenditure for the year has been £245 19s. 6d. On the general account there was a balance for the year to the credit of the Society of £273 8s. 7d. From this, however, must be deducted £150 1s. 8d., the amount in which the Berkeley MSS. account was

indebted to the general account on the 21st of April. The balance of the Society's banking account, therefore, at the end of the financial year was £123 6s. 11d. This balance will be reduced by the cost of the publication of the eighth volume of the Transactions, the first part of which has been delivered to the subscribers, and the second part is considerably advanced. Besides the balance at the bankers there is a sum of £432 3s. 8d. invested in Consols.[1]

The Society has to lament the loss by death during the year of several of its most active members. Of these the Council would specially mention the names of Mr. J. D. T. NIBLETT, F.S.A., Mr. W. ÆNEAS SEYS, and Mr. J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A. Mr. Niblett for very many years took a deep interest in the antiquities of Gloucestershire; and from the foundation of this Society has been of great service in all the various branches of its work. The success of the meeting at Chepstow was mainly due to Mr. Seys' exertions; and Mr. Nicholls, on several occasions, guided the Society on its visits to Bristol and the neighbourhood, and contributed valuable papers to the Transactions. These three gentlemen were members of the Council.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Bath, on Wednesday, July 25th, 1883, under the Presidency of Edward Stafford Howard, Esq., M.P. There was a large attendance of members, who were received and entertained in the Banqueting Room of the Guildhall, by H. Cossham, Esq. (the Mayor of Bath). The President, having been introduced by Sir William Guise, Bart., delivered his inaugural address, in which, after briefly discussing the benefits to be derived from the study of Archæology, he gave a very interesting sketch of the devolution of the Castle and Manor of Thornbury from the time of Edward the Confessor, with a graphic account of the government of the town and manor, illustrated by extracts from the Court Rolls from the year 1387.

The company next proceeded to the Pump Room, where Major Davis described the position and arrangements of the Roman Baths, including the one recently uncovered. After inspecting the remains of this Bath the Society made an excursion, under the guidance of the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, to Hampton Down, for the purpose of examining the line of the Wansdike, the direction of the Roman roads around Bath, and the fords of the river Avon. Mr. Scarth also pointed out and described the different camps of which traces are found on Lansdown, and the camp on Salisbury Hill.

At the Evening Meeting Papers were read and discussed: one *On the lately excavated Roman Bath*, by Major Davis, another *On the History of Ancient Bath*, by Mr. T. G. P. Hallett, and a third *On the Skirmish at Claverton* in 1643, by Mr. H. B. Skrine.

On Thursday, July 26th, an excursion was made by way of Banner Down, to Marshfield, Cold Ashton, Sodbury and Dyrham, the return to Bath being made by Tog Hill, the scene of an obstinate struggle between the Royalists and Parliamentarians. In the course of this excursion the

1 This paragraph states only the Balance of the Banker's Account for the year as it appeared on April 21st, 1884. The sum of £150 1s. 8d. advanced on account of the publication of the Berkeley MSS. is an asset of the Society; as is also the amount of subscriptions for the year that were then unpaid. Against this, on the other hand, must be set the cost of the publication of Vol. VIII. mentioned in the paragraph.

church of Marshfield was described by the Rev. G. F. Trotman, the Church of Cold Ashton and the Parsonage by Mr. E. Sayres, and the Manor House at Sodbury by Mr. G. B. Witts.

At Dyrham the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt conducted the party over the Church and Manor House. At the Evening Meeting papers were read : *On Local Names*, by the Rev. J. Earle (Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford); *On the Battle of Deorham*, by Mr. T. G. P. Hallett ; *On Sodbury Camp*, by Mr. G. B. Witts. The Rev. W. Bazeley offered some remarks *On the Parallel Marches of Edward IV. and Queen Margaret*, and notes by Mr. J. Taylor, *On William Tyndale and his Forerunners in Gloucestershire*, were accepted as read.

The final meeting was held in the Guildhall on the morning of Friday, July 27th, the chair being taken, in the absence of the President, by Sir W. V. Guise, Bart. The usual votes of thanks having been passed and acknowledged the Society paid a visit to Iron Acton, where a description of the manor and the church was given by the Rector, the Rev. H. L. Thompson. After this the Church of Thornbury was visited, under the guidance of the Rev. T. Waters, the vicar, by whom a paper was read on the structure, the advowson and the incumbents. The President afterwards received the Society at the castle (which, with the fine gardens, he had thrown open for the inspection of his visitors) and gave some further facts supplementary to the information contained in his inaugural address.

Before the conclusion of the meeting a resolution, proposed by the President and seconded by Sir William. V. Guise, was unanimously passed, expressing the hope of the Society that the mayor and corporation of Bath may be able to open up the whole extent of the Roman Baths lately uncovered in that city.

The Spring Meeting of the Society was held on May 8th, at Cirencester. A brief visit having been first paid to the Parish Church, under the guidance of the Rev. E. A. Fuller, the members examined the remains of the Hospital of St. John, known as the Paen. Mr. E. C. Sewell gave a brief sketch of the building and of the history of the foundation, after which, the Weavers' Hall, the Roman Amphitheatre at the Querns, and the collection of Roman remains in the Museum were examined. In the afternoon an excursion was made to Siddington, South Cerney, Ashton Keynes, and Cricklade. At the Evening Meeting, in the Assembly Room, at which Sir J. Maclean presided, papers were read by Mr. T. B. Bravender ; *On Recent Roman Finds in Cirencester*, and by Mr. E. C. Sewell, *On Cirencester during the Civil War*, 1642-1644. A.D.

Besides the ordinary meetings of the Society a Special Meeting of the West Gloucestershire Division was held at Ruardean on Monday, Sept. 24th, 1883. After Sir J. Maclean had pointed out the objects of interest in the Church of Ruardean, the excursionists proceeded to the Church of Walford, where, in the absence from illness of the Rev. A. Stonhouse, the vicar, Sir J. Maclean directed attention to many matters of great interest in the building, and mentioned several persons of fame who had been connected with the church. The next visit was paid to Walford Court, an account of the court and manor being given by Miss Shand. After this Goodrich Castle was visited, and a description of it was read by Sir J. Maclean, who

gave also some curious information as to its devolution and its lords. At Haslehurst the Society was entertained at tea by Miss Philips.

The financial results of these meetings have been as follows:—At Bath there was a profit to the Society of £10 14s. 10d., at the Ruardean meeting a profit of £5 12s. 4d., at Cirencester a loss of £1 13s. 6d.—bearing on the whole a gain of £14 13s. 8d.

The second volume of the Berkeley MSS. has been printed and delivered to those members who have paid their subscriptions, and the third volume containing the History of the Hundred of Berkeley is in the press. A third portion has been issued of the Abstracts of the Wills in the Council House at Bristol. The thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. T. P. Wadley for the skill and judgement which he has shewn in making these Abstracts.

Besides the Reports and Transactions of the bodies with which the Society exchanges its own publications, the following works have been added to the library in the year:—*The Cotswold Games*, presented by Sir Brook Kay; *A List of Buildings having Mural Decorations* (by Mr. C. E. Keyser), presented by the Science and Art Department at South Kensington Museum; sundry parts of the *Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute* and of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, have been obtained by purchase to complete the Society's sets of these works.

The Council nominates for re-election the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents of Council, and the Secretaries, general, sectional, and local. The Council also nominates Mr. W. Skillicorne as Vice-President in the room of Dr. Wright resigned, and Mr. J. Williams as Sectional Secretary in place of Mr. Nicholls. The following Members of Council retire by rotation: Messrs. R. Lane and J. Reynolds, Major Lawson Lowe, the Revs. W. Symonds and Prebendary Scarth. There are also vacancies on the Council owing to the deaths of Mr. Niblett and Mr. Seys; and the election of Mr. Skillicorne would create another. The Council has held seven meetings in the course of the year—three at Bristol, three at Gloucester, and one at Evesham. It has to thank the Mayor of Gloucester, the Mayor of Evesham, and the Town Clerk of Gloucester for the accommodation kindly given in the public buildings of these towns for the purposes of its meetings.

On the motion of Mr. D'ARGENT, seconded by Mr. PRITCHETT, it was resolved:—

"That the report just read be adopted, and that the gentlemen whose nominations are reported be requested to accept office."

Which being seconded and adopted,

The MAYOR OF GLOUCESTER (Mr. K. H. Fryer) moved the following resolution, and in doing so observed that the names contained in it were those of gentlemen who were calculated very much to increase the usefulness and power of action of the Society:—

"That the following gentlemen be requested to accept the position of members of the Council Proper:—Mr. R. Lang, Mr. J. Reynolds, Major Lawson Lowe, the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, the Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Mr. Ernest Hartland, and Mr. Herbert New."

Mr. JEROM MUECH, in seconding the motion, expressed pleasure, as a member of the Bath Corporation, that the Society, at its meeting there,

passed a resolution requesting the Corportion to do all in their power to complete the uncovering of the Roman Bath, because he feared the Corporation required some strong impulse to go on with that important work. He believed, however, that as soon as their funds would allow them to complete the uncovering, they would do so. The meeting would be glad to know that there had been additional discoveries of a very important kind made since the meeting at Bath, and that those discoveries had excited general interest throughout the country, the excavations having been visited by people, not only from every part of England, but also from distant countries. He might venture here to express a hope that those now present who had not seen the Roman bath at Bath, would take an early opportunity of doing so.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir JOHN MACLEAN moved :—

"That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. E. Stafford Howard, the retiring President, and to Sir W. Guise for presiding on this occasion."

In regard to Mr. Howard he might say that although he (Sir John) was unable on account of indisposition to attend the Bath meeting, the record of the proceedings there showed the most courteous and valuable services rendered by Mr. Howard to the Society on that occassion, not only by his personal intercourse but by contributing a most excellent paper to their Transactions. Of their friend Sir William Guise he need say but little. Sir William was well known to them. By his ready services, his urbanity, and his liberality he had endeared himself to them all.

The motion was seconded by the Rev. F. E. B. Witts, and, on being put to the meeting by Sir John Maclean, was carried by acclamation.

In reply, SIR WM. GUISE begged the meeting to accept his most hearty thanks for the cordial manner in which they had responded to this proposition. He could only assure them that it was to him a matter of the greatest pleasure to be able to forward in any manner that pursuit which they were all so much interested in—that of antiquities, in which their county abounded, and in which this Society had already done so much good work. Many of those present were here as strangers, but he (Sir Wm.) had been at Evesham often before, and once prepared a paper on the battle-field, but had lost it. However, he was well acquainted with the ground, and was sure that those who had not visited Evesham previously would be greatly gratified by what they would see. There was a great deal that was very interesting. They would find those among them who would explain extremely well what was unknown to them, and make them thoroughly acquainted with it. After a pause Sir Wm. Guise rose, and with a few words expressing confidence that Canon Bourne would make an excellent President, vacated the chair in favour of its occupant for the ensuing year.

Canon BOURNE, who was received with great applause, spoke as follows: Ladies and gentlemen,—Permit me in the first instance to express my regret that it has not fallen to the lot of some one more competent than myself to point out the various objects in this neighbourhood which are of interest to the archæologist. In endeavouring to carry out the duties allotted to me, you will, I feel sure, in your kindness, extend to me the indulgence due to one who can only lay claim to a very limited knowledge of archæology. For

my own shortcomings you will doubtless find ample compensation in the interesting and intructive papers that will be read to you by several gentlemen who have devoted both time and attention to the particular subjects on which they write. The visit of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society into the county of Worcester is certainly most appropriate ; for in ancient times Gloucestershire and Worcestershire formed the kingdom of Wiccii, or Hwiccas, with Gloucester as the civil capital, and Worcester as the ecclesiastical capital. Not only, too, is Evesham a border town, and the district associated from very early times with the most stirring history of our country, but also prior to the Reformation, the county of Gloucester, with nearly the whole of Bristol, formed part of the diocese of Worcester, and numbers of Worcestershire people appear to have gone and settled at Bristol in order to make their fortunes. There are, too, so many places of historical interest just on the borders of the two counties—enough, indeed, not only to arouse the imagination, but to puzzle the curiosity, of the most earnest archæologist. On the 4th or 5th of August, 1265, a battle was fought close to this town, which, although not ranked among the "fifteen decisive battles of the world," yet with the circumstances immediately preceding exercised an influence over the destinies of this nation which is perhaps felt even to the present day. Simon de Montfort rested the previous night at the Abbey of Evesham, and little dreamt, when from the tower hard by he saw the standards borne along round the site of the castle of Chadbury, over the summit of Green Hill, that these were the standards of Edward advancing to the rescue of the King. The discovery was soon made, and then there could be no alternative—a battle must be fought. The issue was never in doubt ; the slaughter, no quarter being asked or given, was fearful. It was commonly supposed, and I believe on good grounds, that formerly the high road from Worcester to London crossed the Avon by a bridge at Offenham. This bridge, by Edward's orders, had been destroyed ; the fact was unknown to the defeated troops, who rushed to try and escape over it, and were drowned or killed in the meadows close by. The island in the river is called "Dead Man's Ait," to this day. Whether Simon de Montfort was a patriot to be admired, or a foolhardy or contemptible traitor, is a question on which different opinions may be entertained ; but perhaps it has been too much overlooked that there was a representative ecclesiastical parliament in England long before the days of de Montfort. The ancient synods of the Church appear to have been such ; and these were held at Hertford A.D. 673, 680, 694. A great council was called by Winfred, King of Kent, and the Archbishop, 742, 785, 788. In 978 the "Witan," and in 1002 the King and Witan decreed that tribute should be paid. Let me only further remark that this fertile vale of Evesham at every period seems to have been the battle-field of England. North, south, east, and west, history tells us of some engagement, and the remains so frequently discovered testify to the slaughter that has taken place. It is curious to notice the various ways in which the name of this town has been spelt. So recently as 1708 it is written "Evesholm" in the parish registers of Broadway. A charter of the ninth century has "Cronuchamme" for Evesham, but this may be miswriting. Richard Symonds, in his "Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army," A.D. 1644, and 1645, preferred "Evesholme" with the termination "*e*," while Essame appears in a will dated 1546. In the decretals of Gregory IX.,

1206, it is called "Evasen" and "Evescam." In the present day at the railway station I have heard the town called Eve-sham Evē-sham, E-sham, and E-sam. A Roman origin has been claimed for this town, but I think we may be content with the date of the foundation of the Abbey in 701 by Egwin Bishop of Worcester, aided by the liberality of Æthelred and Cenred Kings of Mercia; it was dedicated to the honour of the Virgin Mary—in course of time it became a mitred abbey, and one of the most opulent and celebrated of the Benedictine monasteries in England. There are some beautiful remains of the building, notably, the gateway and the Lichfield tower; but still more interesting there is a reading-desk—used for the same purpose now in Norton church—cut out of a solid block of marble, and supposed to have been given by the Abbot Thomas de Marleberg in the year 1230. Mr. Rudge, in the "Archæologia," says "The Crozier in the left hand invariably distinguishes a bishop." St. Egwin was the only Abbot of Evesham who enjoyed that dignity. In the will of John Cooksey, of Evesham, made in the 26th year of Henry VIII, there is a clause as follows:—"I remit to my said lord (Lichfield) £7, which he kept in his hands of the yearly fee of 20 shillings given to me by Master Talbott;" so perhaps the building was carried on by him partly with other people's money. I must refer also to two other wills—the will of Thomas Crompe, of Bretforton, made 8th September, 1530, and containing the clause, "to the building of the new tower of Es: vjs. viijd."; and that of Henry Ruddyng, rector of Bourton-on-the-Water, dated at Evesham, 6th of June, 1531, and making an offering to Clement Lychfilde, Abbot of Eveshame, "in novi operis admiculum." It would appear, therefore, that the tower was not finished in 1530. There will be a paper read giving full particulars of the abbey. A chantry formerly existed for eight chaplains at Elmley Castle, a few miles from Evesham, at the foot of Bredon Hill; the Abbots of Worcester and Evesham competed for jurisdiction, and it appears that the authority was generally exercised by the former. The monks of Evesham founded a monastery at Odensee, in Denmark, about 1100, as well as at Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Whitby. In later years also they were fond of roaming about, for it is significant that the same John Cooksey by his will leaves money to all those monks who were "at home." With these few remarks upon Evesham, let me draw your attention to the mitred Abbey of Hayles, in the county of Gloucester, and in the district it is proposed to visit. There is record of a church being there in the middle of the twelfth century, but Richard Earl of Cornwall, second son of King John, afterwards King of the Romans, was the founder of the Cistercian monastery in the year 1246. Large sums of money were expended on it, and the dedication was conducted with great pomp and solemnity. Very little now remains of this once important abbey, nor can even the shape of the building now with accuracy be traced. A subterranean passage was said to exist between the abbey and Coscomb, and also to Beckbury, the camp above Hailes Wood; but no one in the present day can point out the whereabouts. There is a beautiful little bell cot on the church as it now stands, and there are two Norman pillars at the chancel arch, which are said to have been taken in the first instance to the abbey, but removed back at the Dissolution. Here formerly was a seat along the east wall of the church for the communicants. There seems to have been a sort of fatality hanging over this abbey. The building was destroyed by fire in 1271; in 1337 it suffered considerable

damage from floods; in 1540 the monastery fell into the tender hands of King Henry VIII.'s commissioners; since then the painted glass and many parts of the old building have been transported to Toddington, and the finely-chiselled stones have been used for the repair of the parish roads; yet here repose, or should repose, the ashes of a King, a Queen and their son. One cannot but reflect to what ignoble purposes the most noble remains may be turned.

Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away!

I should mention here that the old Salt-way from Droitwich to the coast of Hampshire climbs the Coteswold Hills in the parish of Hailes. In the church of the adjoining parish of Didbrook, some Lancastrians are said to have sought refuge after the battle of Tewkesbury, A.D. 1471, but were brought out and shot down at the west end. The door is perforated with bullet holes. I give the tradition as it was narrated to me. Passing along the side of the hill, in the hundred of Kiftsgate, of which I shall say more presently, we come to the village of Stanway. There is here a large and handsome manor house, in the Tudor style. The banquetting hall is a fine room, and the lodge was built by Inigo Jones, about 1630. Dover, who instituted the Coteswold games, is said to have been buried here, but I think this is a mistake, for the registers of Barton-on-the-Heath, give a long list of the Dover family, amongst others Mr. Robert Dover, who was buried in 1652. In the adjoining parish of Stanton there are the remains of a large camp, but I have been quite unable to glean any particulars about it beyond the fact that it is sometimes called "Shenborough Camp," sometimes "Lidcombe," sometimes "Stanton," and is supposed to be the connecting link between Beckbury Camp and Willersey Camp, both of which are visible from it. There is some old glass in the church of the 15th century. Still keeping under the brow of the hill, we come to Buckland, or "Bocland," because the tenure of the land was by deed in opposition to "Folkland" that held by hearsay of the folk. There is an interesting little church with some curious glass in the windows. Mr. Gambier Parry, a former president, remarks:—"There are some fine old seats and tiles, the unusual feature, too, of testers projecting over the seats against the wall, frescoes, and a beautiful sancte-belle cot." These are described in the Archæological Transactions of this Society, Part I., 1879-80, pp. 10 and 11. The manor belonged to the Abbey of Gloucester, and I do not find mention made of any other property in the neighbourhood in the possession of that house.[1] The counties of Gloucester and Worcester are in this district very much intermixed, and we shall enter the latter in the parish of Broadway. The ancient road to London passed by the old church; but now the village is so far distant that a new church, in a more convenient situation, has been built, and the venerable old building of the latter part of the 12th century is only used during the summer months for service. A paper will be read on our visit to the church. In contrast to the care which is bestowed upon this sacred edifice, let me call attention to the almost ruinous state of the building called "the Grange." Alas, this once cosy retreat of the Abbots of Pershore is fast falling to decay, and unless some means are speedily taken to preserve

1 I have since learnt that the adjoining Manor of Hinton also belonged to the Abbot of Gloucester.

it this relic of the 14th century will soon be a ruin and a building of the past. The drive up Broadway Hill is rather steep. On the top is a small Inn, with the sign of "The Fish"—either "lucus a non lucendo"—or to keep up the old saying "as thirsty as a fish," which you certainly will be after walking up. The Downs on the top, before enclosure, must have been very extensive. Here both Cavalier and Roundhead were often alternately encamped, and there is a despatch in existence from Lord Digby, dated Broadway Downs, 17th of June, 1644. On the top of the hill, but in the parish of Willersey, and consequently in the county of Gloucester, looking over the Vale of Evesham, are the remains of a very large camp. In extent it is more than 60 acres, and is said by Rudder to have been formed during the Danish ravages. On two sides the camp is naturally defended, on the other two it must have been strongly fortified, for there are evidences of double entrenchments. It is said that here the Mercians were encamped before the battle which took place between them and the West Saxons, at a spot which still retains the name of Battle Bridge, in the parish of Chipping Campden, in the hamlet of Berrington, which probably takes its name from the barrows or "tumuli" raised over the bodies of the slain. Guthrum, the Danish King, spent a whole year in Gloucestershire, and it may be that the record of one of the engagements with Alfred about A. D. 877 has thus been traditionally preserved. Within the camp is a large long-barrow running east and west. Through the kindness and liberality of Mr. Chadwick, the owner of the property, this barrow was in some measure opened ten days ago. The outside walls on the north and south sides were clearly traced, and some very large stones were found at the east end. A few bones were discovered under the largest stone. These have been carefully preserved, and the opening, so far as it went, has been left for your inspection. In the adjoining parish of Saintbury (or as it is called in the Doomsday book Swineberie, that is Swine's camp) there is a smaller camp, probably an outlying work, as it is connected with the larger one in Willersey. Fosbroke calls it Danish. But by the side of these two camps runs the ancient road of Buckle Street, or Buggilde Street. Mr. Witts has traced this road from Ryknield Street, which runs near Bidford to its junction with the Fossway, near Bourton-on-the-Water, and says it is first mentioned in a Saxon charter dated 709. Rudder attributes all these entrenchments to the Danish locusts, who for many years desolated the country, but I think there can be no doubt that both here and on Meon Hill these camps may have been British, were undoubtedly Roman, and were afterwards occupied by both Saxons and Danes. Driving on, now on the top of the hill we come to the parish of Weston Subedge, with which I am more immediately connected, and by the route I hope we shall take to-morrow it will be entered near to a very celebrated locality—namely, Kifts-gate, from which the Hundred takes its name. The position was formerly called "The Narrows," and the meaning of the word may be derived from the old Celtic word "Cefn"—a ridge—as this accurately describes the tongue of land on which it stood. Alas! the gate has gone, the post alone remains. I believe it is the intention of Lord Gainsborough, on whose property it stands, carefully to preserve this ancient relic. In former days the court of the hundred or Wapentake was assembled here for the administration of justice, as well as for military purposes, and evidently the place of assembly for such business must have been of considerable importance. I have reason to believe that

formerly the Kings of England on their coronation were proclaimed King on this very spot, for it fell to my lot to have to take the evidence of an old man named Gould, who died in the year 1850, aged 98, who remembered this ceremony when George the III. came to the throne. In this parish (Weston Subedge) also were formerly held the Dover's Hill games. These were established during the reign of James I. by Mr. Robert Dover, who was an attorney of Barton-on-the-Heath, and it is recorded that some of "the king's old cloaths, with hat, and feather, and ruff" were given to him, and "thus accoutred and well mounted he was the chief director of the sports." I have two old handbills, one of 1806, the other 1819, of the meetings about to be held. From them we learn the nature of the sports, as well as the festivities indulged in. No doubt at one time these games were patronized and supported by the gentry of the neighbouring counties, and their presence acted as a restraint to keep the necessary order; but when this influence was withdrawn the gathering became a meeting of the lowest characters merely for debauchery—no longer to witness or take a part in manly games and true old English sport, but simply for the indulgence of the grossest wickedness—the most sensual crimes. During Whitsun week, the residuum of the "black country" came there. I have seen as many as 30,000, but I am told that many more were assembled. The whole district became demoralised, and I determined if possible to stop this evil. An Act was passed for the division and enclosure of the hill, and the last Dover's meeting was held in 1851. I may add that some of the Dover family were buried in St. Lawrence churchyard in this town, and a Mr. John Dover was Mayor of Evesham in 1706. There formerly stood close to the church of Weston Subedge an old moted manor house belonging to the Giffard family. A subsidy-roll at the Record Office, dated 1st Edward III., mentions the executors of John Gifford, of Weston-under-Edge; they had to pay five shillings, and there are other names on the same roll. The will of Robert Giffard, Esq., is in the Lambeth Palace Library in Archbishop Stafford's registers, folio 145. It was made the 5th of August, 1446, and proved at Pershore. He desired to be buried at Weston-under-Edge, to which church he bequeathed £6 13s. 4d., "ad solarium crucis faciendum, et pro anima mea oranda in ecclesia predicta." This *rood-loft* remained till the year 1835, when it was removed by a Mr. Hulls, of Chipping Campden, a church "restorer" (?) of that date. There is a small brass in the church with a figure on it, and an inscription to one of the Giffard family. A short but sharp descent brings us to the old town of Chipping or Chopping Campden. A paper will be read to you respecting the various points of interest, to which therefore I need only briefly refer. I have been fortunate enough to get some copies made of an old print of the manor house, which it is commonly supposed was destroyed by a Noel, the owner, to prevent it falling into the hands of the Roundheads; but in the Bibliotheca Gloucestriensis, an extract is given from Clarendon, in which it is stated that the house was burnt by Sir Henry Bard, governor of the place, when he was dismissed from his office. William Bradway, of Chipping Campden, who made his will June 6th, 1481, directed that his body should be buried in the parish church, and bequeathed to every altar "a cheseble of white damask," and also "vestments." Can the vestments, which will be shown to you, be those left through the piety of William Bradway? There was in addition a bequest of "one hundred marks" to

the building of the "navy and body" of the said parish church. How useful it would be now, for a bazaar is being held, to raise funds for the same purpose! There is a large handsome brass in memory of William Grevel, whose will was proved in 1401, and is in the Lambeth Palace Library in Archbishop Arundel's Registers, Vol. I. folio 183, in which he desires to be buried in the church of the blessed Mary of Campden, and bequeaths 100 marks "ad novum opus faciendum." One other place remains for me to mention, namely Meon Hill, an offshoot of the Coteswolds, at the very end of the range; here the West Saxons were encamped before their engagement with the Mercians already referred to—said to have been formed by them, but I think now it is generally admitted that this previously was a Roman camp. I beg now to thank you for listening to the few remarks I had to make, not with the idea that I could add anything to what was already known, but with a view to draw attention to some of the places we propose to visit; and if perchance I have succeeded, even in the least degree, I shall feel grateful to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for the compliment paid in electing me president for the current year, and to those kind visitors who have honoured us with their presence to-day.

The Rev. J. Ross Barker said he had the pleasing duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the president for his able and interesting address. The people of Evesham congratulated themselves that it had pleased this Society to pay the town a visit, and they believed it was partly in consequence of their having chosen this year as their president the Rev. Canon Bourne. He did not think they could have selected a more interesting neighbourhood, though, perhaps, they might have selected one in which on some matters they might have obtained more able exponents of the things to be seen there. Canon Bourne had with great ability given them a description of many things which they would see during their visit, and had communicated especially interesting matter in regard to his own parish of Weston Subedge. Touching upon the Borough of Evesham, he remarked that much of the greatness of the town as to architectural matters was departed. They would no doubt say that the town had some very beautiful things remaining; yet, doubtless, if they could have seen the noble abbey, with its glorious tower and beautiful chapter house crowning the brow of the hill, overhanging the river, dwarfing the bell tower, and making the two churches still in existence appear like small chapels, they would at once admit the force of what he said. In conclusion, Mr. Barker said he should have much pleasure in guiding the Society over the two churches, though he should do so with much diffidence.

Mr. Herbert New, in seconding the motion, said it gave him great pleasure to see the Society at Evesham. They came to help the inhabitants in this little and almost obscure town in just the way he felt they wanted help. They needed to be reminded of their historical associations, of the valuable things that lay about them, and of those matters relating to the past, in which it was most wholesome for all of them, especially in the course of their education, to feel a growing interest. True patriotism to his mind consisted in reverencing the past as well as in preparing for the future, and societies like this tended to shew them what they ought to reverence and support, and to inspire them with the feelings to which he had alluded.

Mr. New went on to speak of the intended visit of the Society to Mr. Rudge's grounds and the battlefield, acknowledging the kindness of Mr. Rudge in permitting him to take the Society, as he said, wherever he (Mr. New) pleased. Referring to the collection of remains of the abbey deposited in the manor grounds, he explained that they were collected and removed thither from the Cross Churchyard some 50 or 60 years ago by the present lord of the manor's grandfather, who no doubt regarded this preservation of the remains as an act of reverence towards them, but unfortunately in those days archæological studies were not so complete as at present, or else he (Mr. New) believed those columns, coffins, and other fragments of architecture would have been very much better left in the place where they were found. If they could still open the site of the abbey and show what was underground it would, like St. Mary's at York, enable those who had studied the subject, in the mind's eye to realise the august buildings which had been swept from the face of the earth. In walking among the fragments on Green Hill, they must indulge their imagination with a little restraint, for before they could picture the abbey they must carry the remains back to the place from which they were taken. Thus a double act of imagination must be performed before they could complete the picture of the past. However, it was well that these things should be preserved at all. The present Mr. Rudge's grandfather was a most learned and excellent conservator of antiquities, and did much that was worthy of all esteem in preserving memorials for their historical reference. Having briefly adverted to the site of the battlefield, he recurred to the motion, observing that Canon Bourne stood amongst them as one of their most honoured neighbours, and he had great pleasure in thanking him for delivering to the people of Evesham, as well as to the members of the Archæological Society, the admirable address to which they had listened.

The motion was put to the meeting by the mayor, and carried amid applause.

The PRESIDENT acknowledged the compliment, observing, in the course of his remarks, that he was glad to notice that steps were being taken to establish in Evesham a library, to which persons who occupied the position he then filled might refer for information to make use of at future visits of Archæological Societies.

The meeting then concluded.

VISIT TO THE CHURCHES, ABBEY SITE, AND BATTLEFIELD.

Luncheon at the Institute was followed by a visit under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. J. R. Barker, to the Abbey precincts. Unfortunately rain descended copiously during a great part of the afternoon, and the inspection of the interesting remains of the ecclesiastical greatness of Evesham was a somewhat uncomfortable process. Nevertheless the members of the Society turned out in force, and listened with evident attention to Mr. Barker's clear and in many cases detailed elucidations of what was to be seen. Passing under the old Norman gateway, on one side of which an excavation had been made to shew the full depth of the piers, the party entered the restored church of All Saints, where the mortuary chapel of Abbot Lichfield, the beautiful stained glass, the small lights in the east and west walls of the nave, and other noteworthy objects were duly pointed out.

The parish room was next visited, and here the parish registers, which date from 1538 and are beautifully written and well preserved, were exhibited. The Vicar also exhibited the following inscription on a brass plate, evidently part of a monumental brass :—"Orate pro animabus Roberti Wyllys et uxoris ejus Agnetis, quorum animabus propitietur deus. Amen." The vicar called attention to the fact that Robert Wyllys was vicar of All Saints 1545-85, and this inscription is evidence that the use of prayers for the dead was then still practised. The Rev. C. W. Barclay said he thought it possible that the inscription, which appeared to be at least a century older than 1585, commemorated an earlier namesake of the vicar of All Saints.[1] Mr. Barker

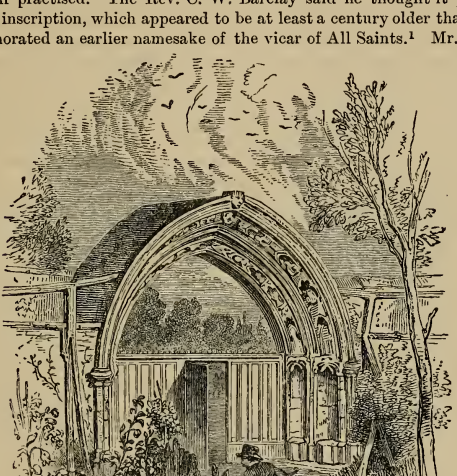

Fig. 2.

There is nothing to shew the identity of Robert Wyllys, the vicar, with the Robert Wyllys of the inscription, and the persons commemorated may have been the parents or other ancestors of the priest, especially as, in the opinion of Mr. Barclay, the characters of the inscription are of an earlier date than 1585. Besides, in clerical descriptions, it is usual to state the office of the deceased. Nevertheless, supposing the memorial to be that of the vicar its terms would not necessarily be inconsistent. He would not, of course, have been married in 1545 when he was insituted to the benefice, but the Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI., Cap. 21, which, though strongly discouraging, permitted the clergy to marry, enabled him to do so. Nor is there any difficulty with respect to the terms of the inscription itself, for Prayers for the Dead have nowhere been forbidden by the Church of England and have never been wholly discontinued (*see Judgment of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust in Breeks v., Woolrey, Ecclesiastical Reports; and Epitaph of Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishop of St. Asaph, and many others,*) and it is not probable that Mr. Wyllys, as a Priest of the Old Religion, would relinquish the practice.—Ed.

exhibited an old print of St. Lawrence's Church, which shewed the deplorable condition into which the building had been allowed to fall through neglect, and of its subsequent restoration. An examination of St. Lawrence's, close at hand, followed, and here the beautiful baptistry and the east window, both of which are by tradition ascribed to Clement Lichfield, virtually the last of the Evesham Abbots, were much admired. *En passant* the Vicar said he hoped that the rather unsightly pews would ere long be got rid of. He also gave an interesting description of the remarkable changes which the building had undergone, and pointed out the tower, dating probably from the 13th century, as worthy of notice. The Abbey site was next visited, the party passing for that purpose underneath Lichfield's beautiful Bell Tower, which, with the two churches, forms a striking architectural group. Mr. E. S. Ridsdale, a local architect, had kindly staked out the ground in the Cross Churchyard, so as to shew the plan of the abbey as set forth by the late Mr. Rudge after his excavations already referred to. Taking his stand on the spot formerly occupied by the great tower, Mr. Barker was enabled to give an intelligible idea of the vast extent and noble proportions of the old edifice as it probably appeared just before the Dissolution. The arch, which may be described as yet standing in the outer wall of the eastern cloister, formerly led through a spacious vestibule to the chapter house. It is of transition character from Early English to Decorated, of about the end of the 13th century. The arch is of the drop form, the mouldings being filled with small canopied niches with figures in them, all of which are much mutilated (*Fig. 2.*) The only relic of the abbey church now standing was examined with great interest, and in the gardens the trees planted by Mr Rudge on the site of the nave pillars and on the spot where Abbot Henry's remains were found were duly pointed out. Mr. Barker explained that there were three abbeys built in succession on that site. The first, which was Saxon, was built in 701, and the second, chiefly Saxon, begun in 960, and continued till 1011, was taken down by the abbot appointed after the Conquest, who built a grand Norman structure in its place. The Abbey Tower, the vicar said, was known to have been twice re-built, and Mr. F. Tomes remarked that it should be remembered that it was this, and not the Bell Tower, to which Simon de Montfort sent some one from which to view the approaching forces previous to the battle of Evesham. By the courtesy of Mr. E. Byrch the Society was then conducted through the house which occupies the spot where formerly stood the grand crenelated gate of the abbey, some remains of which were inspected at the rear and in the interior of the building.

At four o'clock the party proceeded in carriages to the Abbey Manor grounds, which were entered through the gardener's cottage. The hall, which contained the abbot's chair and some remarkable gurgoyles from the abbey, were first examined. From the lawn a view of Lichfield tower with the river and plain beyond was obtained. Mr. Herbert New, who now acted as guide, calling attention to the isolated character of the battle-field. The museum, containing numerous relics from the abbey and battlefield, was examined with interest, as also were the stone coffins and fragments of pillars and arches arranged outside. Arrived at the obelisk commemorating the battle of Evesham, Mr. New described the disposition of the forces prior to the struggle, illustrating his remarks by means of a map of the field and its neighbourhood, copies of which were distributed amongst those present. His view of the

subject was, as on the occasion of the visit of the British Archæological Society in 1875, questioned on some points by the Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram, who was called upon by Mr. New to address the meeting. Leaving the grounds the Society passed into an adjoining field, where from the path Mr. New pointed out Battlewell, now a small horse-pond, which is supposed to have been the place where Simon de Montfort fell. Great miracles were said to have been performed at the well, animals as well as men and women, it is stated, having been cured there of various diseases. The body of Simon de Montfort, after being dismembered, was buried near the high altar of the abbey, but, as stated by one of the chronicles, afterwards removed and cast away as unworthy of burial. Mr. New also remarked at this point that he had looked into his old authorities, but was unable to come round to Canon Winnington Ingram's view as to the battle. An offer was made to guide any of the party who choose to go to the well and thence into the road, but in the wet state of the grass no one accepted the invitation, and the return journey to Evesham was commenced.

CANON BOURNE presided at the Annual Dinner of the Society, which was held in the evening in the Farmers' and Merchants' Hall. There were about fifty ladies and gentlemen present, the vice-chairs being occupied by Mr. Herbert New and Mr. W. Smith. After dinner the President in a few graceful sentences proposed the loyal toasts, and then gave "Success to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society." He said there was one gentleman present (Sir Wm. Guise) who took so much interest in the meeting of the Society, and brought such great and varied knowledge to bear upon the subjects discussed, that they must look upon him quite as father of the Society. Unfortunately the weather had been wet for their visit to the Abbey and Battle Field, but none of them could have listened to what had been told them without the greatest and deepest interest. It was a great pleasure to him to hear that there was some difference of opinion as to the way in which the battle was fought, and he hoped, as both his friends (Mr. New and Canon Ingram) lived so near him, he should hear both sides of the question very often. He coupled with the toast the name of Sir W. Guise, Bart.

Sir WM. GUISE, in responding, said he laboured under some difficulty inasmuch as the toast concerned themselves, but the duty he had been entrusted with was a very welcome one, because it gave him the opportunity of returning thanks to those who had received the Society so well that day. They could not command the weather, but it was quite apparent that the day had been a very interesting one in spite of the rain. He thought such differences as they had had in reference to the battle-field were most advantageous, because what was the use of that Society if they did not contend for what they believed was the truth? He repeated the thanks of the members for the hospitable and courteous welcome they had met with at Evesham.

The EARL OF GAINSBOROUGH proposed the health of the President, the Rev. Canon Bourne. He observed that it was a matter of congratulation that the Society had been able to secure the services of one so interested in the neighbourhood, and so able to discuss its antiquities. His lordship added

that he regretted not to have been able to accompany the Society through the whole of the programme that day, but he was glad to know that a pleasant and satisfactory afternoon had been spent in spite of the bad weather.

The PRESIDENT, in the course of a genial response, spoke of the pleasure with which he had endeavoured to the best of his ability to discharge the duties entrusted to him, and said he hoped this would not be the last time that Societies like the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society would visit the neighbourhood, for there were parts of the Cotteswold district which for want of easy access had hitherto not been explored and were almost entirely unknown. If the inhabitants had the opportunity of seeing the members of this Society at Evesham again, and it pleased God to spare his life, he should be only too happy to do what he could to forward their views and to give such facilities as he could for the examination of the neighbourhood.

SIR WM. GUISE, in cordial terms, proposed the healths of the General Secretaries.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY first responded, simply saying that as long as he remained their secretary he would do his utmost for the advancement of the Society and the comfort of the members.

The Rev. Dr. CALDICOTT replied in a similar strain, adding, however, that the praise given by Sir Wm. Guise to the general secretaries was really due to the local secretaries, who had with great care and attention worked out the whole of the details of the meeting, and whose valuable services they ought to heartily acknowledge. With the President's permission he gave the health of the Local Secretaries, which was cordially drunk.

Mr. HERBERT NEW suitably responded on behalf of Mr. R. F. Tomes and himself, and the company then separated.

EVENING MEETING.

AT half-past eight o'clock a meeting for reading Papers was held in the Town Hall, the President in the chair. The subject of the first contribution was *The Church of St. Michael, Buckland*, read by the Rev. Philip Norris, Rector of that parish :—

The church at Buckland is dedicated to St. Michael. It is said that churches so dedicated should stand upon an eminence (though as a matter of fact they do not all so stand), and this church is situated upon rising ground at the base of the bold escarpment of the Cotteswold Hills. It formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester. When the present rector came he found, forming a portion of the churchyard wall, an ancient massive stone, measuring about 8 ft. long by 2 ft. 6 ins. deep by about 2 ft. wide, handsomely and boldly carved on the sides and ends in quatrefoils and mouldings. This stone he supposed to have been an altar tomb, and originally to have occupied a position at the east end of the south aisle. He had had it moved to a good position and placed upon a basement of masonry. In the churchyard are the steps of the ancient cross. The cross itself has disappeared, and though dilligent search has been made for its fragments no portion of it had yet been found. It is said that formerly butter, eggs,

poultry, &c., were sold on the steps of the cross in a sort of small market, and that there used to be a wake held yearly in the churchyard, widely known as "Buckland Wake." Over the porch there is a small niche which probably once contained an image of St. Michael, the patron saint. On the apex of the gable at the east end of the nave is a bell-cote, which contained the sacring bell,[1] which was rung at the elevation of the Host. This bell was removed many years ago into the tower, and is now known by the name of the ting-tang. There are on the tower four gurgoyles of grotesque design, though they are handsomely and nobly carved. The church itself consists of a spacious and lofty nave, with north and south aisles, a chancel of good proportion, a tower at the west end of the nave, and a porch adjoining the centre of the north aisle. It is supposed to have been originally a Norman building, consisting of only a nave and a chancel. There are two lines of drip-stones in the masonry of the tower, visible from the interior of the church, which show that the pitch of the early roof was more steep than at present. In the 13th century the aisles of the nave and arcades were added—then the lower part of the tower—and in the 15th century the clerestory and roofs of the nave and aisle, the Perpendicular windows inserted in the north and south walls, the porch, and the ancient oak seating in the nave. The roofs were then covered with lead. Upon examining the stonework of the tower, we come to the conclusion that the next alteration was the addition of the upper stage of it, and probably at the same time the present ring of six bells was hung. Then, perhaps, in the beginning of the 17th century the western gallery and some of the seating in the aisles with their three remarkable tester heads of carved oak. We may here state that the modern high pews (of which there were five, two of which, with the reading desk, blocked up the view of the chancel), the lofty three-decker pulpit, and the elevated reading desk, were removed about two years ago, and new oak seating was constructed to match the 15th century benches in the rest of the church. These ancient benches remain, for the most part, as they were first erected (though sadly decayed in places) and they are fine specimens of thoroughly good old English workmanship, with their rich, deep-moulded rails, and elegantly carved upright ends on pannelling, deep set. The ancient tiles on the floor remain, for the

1 The late learned Dr. Rock, in treating of the celebration of the Mass, thus writes of the Sanctus Bell:—If not during St. Osmund's days (1070-1099) soon after, at least, the custom was, as the priest said the Sanctus, etc., to toll three strokes on a bell. For hanging it so that it be heard outside, as well as within the church, a little bell-cote often may yet be found built on the peak of the gable between the chancel and the nave, that the rope might fall at a short distance from the spot where knelt the youth or person who served at Mass. From the first part of its use this bell got the name of the "Saints," "Sanctys," or "Sanctus," bell; and many notices concerning it are to be met with in old accompts. At the other Masses in the chantry chapels, and at the different altars about the church, a small hand bell was employed for this among other liturgical uses (Church of our Fathers, Vol. III. p. 153). Further on he says, referring again to the use of the Sanctus bell, "but for the elevation at all other Masses, little hand-bells, sometimes made of silver and called "Sacring bells," were employed, may be too, a small bell used to be hung somewhere nigh the altar for liturgical purposes. On hearing the sacring bell's first tinkle, those in church, who were not already on their knees, knelt down, and with upraised hands, worshipped their Maker in the holy housel lifted on high before them." *ib.*

The Council of Exeter, A.D. 1287, decreed that in every church there should be "Campanella defcrenda ad infirmos et ad elevationem corporis christi."—*Wilkins' Concil'a I. 139.*—ED.

most part, as they were first laid down, but much worn and cracked in every direction. They have been carefully copied on tracing paper, and are found to contain the Royal arms, the arms of Beauchamp, of Bryan, of Phillipps, &c. The most curious devices are conies' heads, arranged as a triangle with a net between them—piles, represented by three vertical strokes, letters which have not yet been deciphered—chequers and bulls' heads.

The walls throughout appear to have been painted, but they have, from time to time, been thickly coated with whitewash; nevertheless, in places the paintings shew through. In one place appears the rose-en-soliel, one of the well known badges of Edward IV., which indicates the date at which these decorations were made. In another compartment is a very large painting representing scenes from scripture history, our Saviour bearing the cross, the day of judgement, &c. This latter has been half defaced by order of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps in his zeal against all he considered Popish. In another place is a portion of the 12th chapter of Ecclesiastes in the old translation: "Heare the conclusion of the whole matter, &c." A few latin words also appear. Perhaps the latest of the inscriptions is the following, in large letters, from the "Bidding Prayer": "Yee shall praie ffor the High & Mightie Prince, James by the Grace of God, &c.," stating all his titles at great length, "whom may God longe presearve to raigne over vs."

The roofs of the nave and aisles are of oak, richly carved, and shew remains of bright coloured decorations. In one place is a remarkable device carved in oak, representing a knotted cord, symbolizing the union knot of peace between the rival houses of York and Lancaster.[1] Parallel to this is the Tudor rose. The rood-loft staircase remains in the south pier of the chancel arch. An aumbry has recently been opened in the east wall of the chancel. It was carefully boarded over and whitewashed to match the rest of the wall surface.

At the east end of the north aisle is a good example of an Early-English lancet window, and below it on the north side is a small desk to which a black letter copy of Foxe's Book of Martyrs was formerly chained. The rusty staple and two or three links of the chain are still attached to it. The book itself had been removed, but has been recovered, though re-bound in a modern style. There is a piscina at the east end of each of the aisles, and there may have been chapels screened off.[2]

Many fragments of ancient monuments have been found, and to preserve them they have been placed as a basement for the Parish Chest, which is an ancient and curious coffer with two locks.

There is much to admire and to study in the painted glass of the east window, which, though small in size, is rich and varied in colour. There are three lights in which the subjects are Baptism, Marriage, and Extreme Unction. Many figures are represented in each, of which a bishop, episcopally vested and wearing his mitre, is the most conspicuous. His pastoral staff is borne by an attendant priest, whilst another ecclesiastic holds the

1 We do not know of any such badge of the union of the two houses, which is commemorated by the double rose. The device would appear to be simply an architectural decoration.—ED.

2 It does not appear from the Chantry Certificates that a chantry was ever founded in this church (See ante Vol. VIII. Chantry Certificates)—ED.

book from which he reads. In the marriage scene is a representation of the ancient baldequin over the altar, enriched with a row of jewels around the top, which, in the rich colours of the glass, have the appearance of real gems. Several of the figures in each of the subjects are so closely alike that possibly they may be portraits, and commemorate events in the history of some family.

The wall of the north aisle at the back of the seats has been panelled at the expense of two parishioners as testified by the following memorial:

Thomas : Izzard : and : James : Sowthorn : of : thayr : own : charg : have : geven : this : benchin : and : wainscot : to : Church : in : the : yere : of : our : Lord : 1615.

The holy water stoup remains in the porch.

Two or three questions having been asked by Sir John Maclean, the Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram said he rather wished that Mr. Norris had pointed out a rather interesting feature in his own house. He remembered dining there with some clerical friends when the house was quite in the oldest style, and directly over their heads was a rose carved in wood. A very remarkable illustration of the old proverb *sub rosa*, meaning, he supposed, that anything talked of at that table should never go out. Another feature of Buckland was that the property belonged to Sir T. Gresham, the builder of the Royal Exchange, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and passed from him to the Thynnes.

The Rev. W. Bazeley pointed out that Mr. Norris's subject was the church, and he had kept to it. He alluded to the interesting window, observing that he anticipated that it would throw a great deal of light on the history of the church and the parsonage house.

The Rev. P. Norris having intimated that Mrs. Norris was preparing a very miniature museum of curiosities for the inspection of the Society on their visit to Buckland, the President mentioned a curious cup, and the Rev. J. R. Barker an interesting cope at the parsonage, hoping that they would form part of the collection, and Mr. Norris promised that they should.

The President said that the Society was much obliged to Mr. Norris for his paper upon what was one of the most interesting churches in the district. He had excited their curiosity, and would be inundated with questions when the members came to examine the church, but no doubt Mr. Norris would be able to answer their inquiries.

The Rev. W. Bazeley then read a *Memoir of the History of the Manor and Advowson of Buckland*, which, as enlarged, will be printed in this volume.

The President having thanked Mr. Bazeley for his important contribution, which contained several new facts, the Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram read the subjoined paper on *The Briton, the Roman, and the Saxon* in the *Vale of Evesham*.

"In the upper gravel of the terraces running parallel with the Avon, and containing the bones and teeth of the elephant, rhinoceros, reindeer, and other mammals, a neolithic race has left faint but certain tokens of its

residence. These savages lived in pit dwellings, probably surmounted by wattled beehive-like constructions. A unique chlorite slate guard to protect the wrist against the rebound of the bowstring found on the floor of one of their wigwams in the hamlet of Aldington, shews that the inhabitants were archers, and obtained animal food by the chase. That they had also advanced so far in the habits of civilized life as to grow corn for themselves may be also inferred from the discovery of two dome-shaped querns lying near the wristguards. Their practice of cremation prevents us arriving at the knowledge whether they were of a long or a round-headed race, but a gracefully-shaped and elegantly-indented urn of unbaked clay, in which were deposited the ashes of the dead, found near Charlton, intimates that, like the early cave dwellers, they had made some progress in art. The mounds raised over their sepulchral places have long ago been levelled by the plough, but such names of fields as Barrow, Bury-Lenches, and Round Hill in the parish of Harvington, testify to their sites, and a fine flint axe found in a field in that locality was no doubt turned up by the deeper furrow of the steam plough from one of those levelled burial spots. Clay paint-pots indicate that they painted their bodies, and stone beads formed part of the rude ornaments of these ancient Britons, who, in course of time, changed their stone axes for bronze celts, some of which have been brought to light near Charlton, and in the parish of Church Lench. A bronze wedge, discovered near Knowle Hill, is a further evidence of their progress. The Roman invasion found these inhabitants of our vale absorbed in the Celtic races, and raised to a higher degree of civilization under the government of chiefs or kings, and the teaching of the Druids, whose great temple now styled the Rollright stones, lay not far remote, and another of whose sacred stones gave in Saxon times the name Gretestane to a hundred of Gloucestershire, now included in the larger hundred of Kiftsgate. This stone, like the King and Queen stones on the Bredon Hill, revered for its old Druidical associations, was no doubt in later times the place of meeting of the Saxon Hundredmoot. The Roman subjugation of the Vale of Evesham was commenced in the reign of Claudius by Ostorious Scapula, who, Tacitus says, began to restrain the inhabitants on the banks of the Severn and the Avon by a chain of forts. He may have made use of the hill fortresses of the Dobuni on the Coteswold and Bredon heights for that purpose. The Vale of Evesham, lying between the pleasant Roman town of Alauna, or Alcester, and the strong walled cities of Corinium and Glevum, (Cirencester and Gloucester,) became during the later occupation of the Romans, dotted by their villas or manor houses. The site of one of them, originally occupied by a British settlement, may be traced by fragments of Roman pottery and Roman coins at Knowle Hill, in the parish of Bengeworth, and the name of Norville given to fields in the parishes of Offenham and South Littleton suggests the former existence of Roman villas on those spots. Places called Vineyard, in Bengeworth, and South and Middle Littleton parishes point to the Roman culture of the vine in those localities which afterwards was continued by the Evesham monks. Cogent arguments may be given in support of an opinion that the many Roman relics and coins found at Blackminster, particularly in a field called Blackbank, may mark out the site of the lost station of ad Antonam, which one version of Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary describes as twenty Roman miles from Glevum, or Gloucester. Mr. May has placed it at Overbury, which certainly cannot be

said to be ad Antonam at the Avon ; and Mr. Allies, at Eckington, on the Avon, but considerably more than fifteen miles from Alcester, which is the measurement fixed in the Itinerary between that town and the station. Blackminster being near Ryknield Street, the direct Roman road from Alcester to Gloucester, and about twenty miles from the latter town, and nearly fifteen miles distant from the summer camp of the garrison of Alauna at Great Alne, from which the Roman general, whose notes supplied Richard of Cirencester with his Itinerary may have started, and being in the valley of the Avon, may, with great probability, be supposed to be the lost ad Antonam. Dr. Stukely fixes its site at Evesham, but if he had been aware of the Roman relics and coins ranging from the early to the later emperors scattered over the fields extending from Blackminster nearly to the Avon, I believe he would have transferred its position to the left bank of that river. The discovery of a bronze figure of a boar near Welford, points to the former existence of a temple of Diana, the Roman tutelary goddess of the neighbouring forest of Arden. The Saxons, after Ceawlin's crushing defeat of the Britons, 577, at Deorham, and the consequent capture of the towns of Corinium and Glevum, and the death of Cutha in the battle with the Britons at Fretherne, 584, advanced into the Vale of Evesham. But though history gives no record of the fearful struggle for that fertile district, yet the soil yields unmistakable evidence of the stubborn defence by the Romano-British inhabitants. On the southern slopes of Cleeve Hill, in the parish of South Littleton, in scattered places in the soil, have been found many skeletons with the iron bosses of their mouldered wicker shields under their heads, gilded bronze brooches on their shoulders, iron spear heads by their sides, and clay or wooden cups in their hands. These were doubtless the skeletons of heathen Saxons who were pursued by the relentless enemies whom they had invaded, and struck down in flight, and buried where they fell with their armour, weapons, and drinking cups, ready to renew their fierce contest and wild drinking bouts in the hall of Walhalla. Bodies similarly buried have been found near the passage of the Avon at Bidford. This appearance of hasty burial shows that the dead must have fallen in war time, otherwise they would have been deposited in stone cists as the heathen Saxons are found sepulchred near Ebrington. During the final conquest of the Vale by the Saxons the wooden monastery or mission station, which gave the name to Blackminster, was probably burnt, and the monks slaughtered as the monks of Bangor were by the fierce soldiers of Ethelfrid. The Hwiccas, who thus became established in their tuns and hams in this district, were an industrious race, and at the time of the Domesday survey were cultivating the greatest part of the soil of the vale with their eight-oxen ploughs, extending their husbandry up the sides of the Coteswold Hills in places like that called Weston Subedge, the Lenches, which name marks the site of the unsown ridges between the strips of land belonging to different owners, but massed together in virgates or yard-lands for the convenience of coaration under the three-field system by the common ploughs provided by the lord of the manor or the village community. Aldington, called Aldinton, in the chronicle of the Abbey of Evesham, was no doubt so styled from a settlement of a tribe probably by the Romans deported there, the Aldingas, traces of whose name have been found in the territory of Wurtenberg. Their appellation may have been derived from the alder tree being the token of the

clan, as the Æscingas of Kent owed their name to the ash. With this exception I cannot clearly discover the tokens of tribal communities or clan settlements in the eastern part of our vale. A faith in the old British mythology seems to have lingered among the British serfs employed on the Saxon manors. The three ladies, one as tall and splendid as the sun, who appeared to Bishop Egwin's swine-herd in the depths of the dark wood which was then included in the Fisseberge or the fir-clad hills hundred, afterwards called the Blackenhurst or Black Forest hundred, seem to have attracted his reverence, as the supposed apparition of the three mother goddesses, Deæ matres, in whose honour the Roman soldiers in Britain erected so many votive altars. Even the good Bishop Egwin, when, distressed by false aspersions on his character, he manacled his legs together, and throwing the key of the fetterlock into the Avon, started on his pilgrimage to Rome, was no doubt influenced to perform this extravagant act by his recollection of an old custom which the Saxons brought with them from the Baltic. For Tacitus says that among the Semmones it was not lawful for anyone to enter their sacred grove without being bound by a chain, and that if he fell he was not allowed to be lifted up or to rise, but he had to roll himself along the ground. With these remarks I will bring to a conclusion my paper which I trust may lead to further discoveries in the direction which I have pointed out and add some interest to the excursions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society across our beautiful vale."

A brief discussion followed, after which the meeting terminated.

THURSDAY, 24TH JULY, 1884.

This day a carriage excursion was made to Broadway Church and Grange of Pershore Abbey, Willersey and Saintbury Camps, and Chipping Campden, returning to Evesham, *via* Aston Subedge, Weston Subedge and Badsey. With as near an approach to punctuality as the exigencies of providing carriage accomodation for the large party assembled would permit, a start was made from the Institute with much apprehension as to the prospect of the weather. The sun shone out in those fitful gleams which indicate much atmospheric disturbance and heavy storms, and these were not wanting in the afternoon, but fortunately the party obtained shelter when they occurred. The drive to Broadway was very pleasant, the atmospheric conditions being most favourable to clear views of the charming scenery through which the visitors passed. The first halt was made at the old Grange of the Abbots of Pershore, attached by them to the Vicarage of Broadway in the 14th century, at which period, and probably contemporaneously, the Grange was built, and the pre-existing church enlarged or re-built and restored to the condition which it now mainly presents. On arriving at the Grange, which, though now in a woeful condition of dilapidation, bears abundant proof of its origin and uses, Mr. Isaac Averill, on the invitation of the President, read some notes on the building, explaining that he did not claim originality for them, as they were published on the visit of the British Archæological Association to this place in 1875.[1]

1 These notes are by Mr. John Robinson, and are of much interest. They are printed in Vol. XXXII., p. 437, of the Journal of the Association. It is there stated that the building is of the 14th century, and in a fair state of preservation. If so, it has much changed since, shewing how rapidly decay takes place if no means are adopted to check it.—ED.

After the reading of these notes, the party made an inspection of the building, finally assembling in its front and unanimously expressed deep regret that a building of such great interest should have been suffered to fall into such a condition of approaching ruin. An announcement that the property belonged to Mr. Halliwell Phillipps, inspired hope that it might ere long be placed in such a condition of repair as to preserve it from utter destruction. In one of the appartments into which the Grange has been modernly divided, Mr. Charles Phillipps, of Kilsant House, Broadway, had arranged a most interesting museum of antiquities, of which, unfortunately, the limited time at the disposal of the party prevented an adequate inspection. The collection contained valuable old books, among which must be mentioned the "Treacle Bible," black letter, 1602, in a beautiful state of preservation. This edition takes its title from its rendering of the first passage of the 22nd verse of the 8th chapter of Jeremiah, thus—"Is there not Triacle at Gilead." A copy, unfortunately without title page, but doubtless the original edition of Baxter's "Saint's Everlasting Rest," black letter, 1694, was also much noticed. An old copy of the "Justice of the Peace," and a history of the Bible, containing some curious plates of Solomon's Temple, were also interesting. Certain ancient implements of warfare and other antiquities, completed a small but interesting collection, showing at once the reverence of the collector for old objects of interest and his kind desire to add to the pleasure of the visitors by arranging them for inspection. Mr. Phillipps added to the obligations of his visitors by a timely supply in the "loving cup" of the "wine of the country," pure and luscious perry, which was grateful to the palate. From the Grange to the Old Church was the next move, and here again Mr. Averill, jointly with the Rev. C. S. Caffin, performed the duties of guides, Mr. Averill read the following Paper descriptive of the church :—

"This church (familiarly known as the Old Church) is dedicated to St. Edburga or Eadburga (English Eadburgh), who was the daughter of Edward, the elder, son of King Alfred. She is said to be buried at Pershore Abbey, which abbey is consecrated to her. This will of course account for the dedication of the church, as it formerly belonged to the said Pershore Abbey. St. Eadburgh is commemorated on June 15th. The date of the church may be placed between 1160 and 1190. It is a cruciform structure with central tower and of considerable architectural interest, retaining examples of Norman work, but chiefly Transitional from Middle to Third pointed. The interior is designed with great harmony of proportion, and though small and without ornament has a certain dignity which cannot fail to be observed. In the chancel, which is 29ft. long by 17 ft. wide, there are monuments to the Phillipp's family from 1794 to 1820. Under the window is a brass to Anthony Daston, 1572, æt. 66, in armour. It is a palimpsest having part of a coat of arms and other work on the back. Also a brass to Mrs. Cecilia Newport, who died March 21st, 1766, æt. 72. Also a monument to Walter Savage, Esq., 1640. On the north side is a circular headed doorway blocked up, and there is an Early-English window on the south side filled in. The present windows of the chancel and of the aisles and the west window of the nave are of the 15th century. The chancel screen has some small holes disposed in the form of triangles. In the nave, which is 52 ft. long and 34 ft. wide, there

are three pointed arches on each side, recessed, one half of which have square edges, the other chamfered. The columns have Anglo-Norman capitals and bases; below the bases were formerly square plinths, which were rounded off in 1866 when the church was repaired. In the wall of the north aisle is an opening like a fireplace, with a flue going up the wall. In the church are the arms of Charles I. 1641, well painted, at the back of which is written "Cleaned and oiled by J. Harvey, schoolmaster, April, 1779. The church then embellished." The font is circular and very deep, but without ornament, and is possibly of the 12th century. The old pulpit removed from a chapel which formerly stood on the site of the new church (St. Michael's, 1839), is probably of the 14th century. The pulpit and arms above named were exhibited in the Worcestershire Exhibition, 1882. There is a handsome monument to William Taylor, Esq., of Middle Hill, who died 1741. The roof over the nave was originally a little below the present roof, and of moderate pitch; the present roof, which retains traces of colour, may be of the early part of the 15th century. The transepts and tower show work of the 13th and 14th centuries. There are six bells of beautiful tone, inscribed as follows:

1. CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM. MATTHEW BAGLEY MADE ME 1778. MR. COLEMAN, MR. STEPHENS, CHURCHWARDENS.
2. THOMAS FROST, GENTLEMAN, AND JOHN HIGFORD GRIFFITHS, GENTLEMAN.
3. WALTER SAVAGE, WILLIAM SHELDON, ESQ., WILLIAM HODGES, WILLIAM BROOKS, CHURCHWARDENS. ANNO DOMINI 1603.—W.M.A.B.H.
4. WALTER SAVAGE, ESQ. WILLIAM SHELDON, ESQ. 1609.
5. CANTATE DOMINO CANTICUM NOVUM, MATTHEW BAGLEY MADE ME 1778. MR. COLEMAN, MR. STEPHENS, CHURCHWARDENS.
6. TENOR RECAST AT GLOUCESTER BY JOHN RUDDALL, A.D. 1828. JOHN RUSSELL AND JAMES STOCKFORD, CHURCHWARDENS

Near the chancel door is a small headstone, the date of which is 1517. This is the oldest monument for the dead now standing. The register of the parish commences in 1541. Nash, in his "History of Worcestershire," Vol. I. p. 146, says: "In the highest north window in the body of the church were the arms of Shildon, Brace, Sambach and Pynk. There were more paintings in the west windows, but they are now (1779) broken." The nave and aisles of the church were formerly covered with lead, but some of it being stolen some years ago the remainder was removed and sold and a new slate roof substituted in 1866. The old irregular seats were removed, galleries taken down, and the best of the old seats erected as at present. The whole was repaved. The north transept was re-built and a new window placed near the north door. It is intended to renovate the chancel in a similar manner. This church is now only used for the burial service, and the churchyard being much crowded in the year 1875 a piece of land was given by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps as additional burial ground, which was enclosed and levelled and was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Worcester, May 8th, 1877."

The Rev. C. S. CAFFIN then called attention to several interesting details in the architecture of the church, the pulpit and the font, and particularly to the painting of the Royal arms of Charles I. already mentioned by Mr. Averill, which—though he objected on principle, but not from disloyalty, to

the exhibition of Royal arms in churches—was yet so meritorious and well-preserved as to be worthy of notice. He also read the following list of the incumbents of Broadway, and dates of their institution respectively, and the names of the patrons, prepared by Mr. Christopher Hensley, and forming a complete record of the institutions to the vicarage from 1269 to the present time[1]:—

Broadway Vicarage.

Patrons.	*Incumbents.*	*Instituted*	*Registers.*
Abbas et Conventus de Persora	Adam de Cestreton	- circa 1269	Gif. f. 13 a. 20 a.
	Galfridus de Cubberleye - - -	4id. Maii, 1269	Ib. f. 29. a.
	Petrus de Caldwell -	id. Martij, 1282	Ib. f. 171. b.
	Walterus Kaleres licentiatus ad studendum per biennium -	circa 1314	
	Robertus de Kyngessvode, cap. - -	3 id. Apr. 1320	Cobham, f. 20. a.
	Henricus de Burgh, -	30 Jan., 1333	Horl. v. 1. f. 42. b.
	Willus de Okley, pauper, diac.	Julii, 1349	Wolst. v. 2. f. 15. a.
Rex ratione temporalium Ab. de Pershore in manu sua existentium	Johannes de Askham -	13 Oct. 1349	Reg. sed. vac. f. 129.
Abbas et Conventus de Persora	Willus de Sacri -	11 kal. Apr. 1365	Wittlesey f. 13. a.
	Robertus de Wadyngham, - - -	22 Aug. 1380	Wakf. f. 24. a.
	Robertus atte Welle, -	7 Jan. 1390	Ib. f. 74. a.
	Willus Ayllestan, cap.	9 Dec. 1412	Pev. f. 50. a.
	Thomas Symonde, pbr.	17 Oct. 1438	Bourch. f. 51. b.
	Willus Ayleston, cap.	12 Aug. 1439	Ib. f. 59. a.
	Thomas Heth, cap. -	10 Apr. 1465	Carp. v. 1. f. 188. b.
	Willus Tayllour, cap.	17 Mar. 1472	v. 2. f. 36. b.
	Joh. Botre, cap. -	20 Martij 1488	Mort. f. 29. a.
	Walterus Jonys, A.B.	16 Maij, 1506	S. Gygl. f. 47. b.
	Thos. Mathanson, cap.	16 Sept. 1513	Ib. f. 91. b.
	Robertus Bushoppe, cap.	28 Feb. 1523	Jeron. f. 21. a.
Radulphus Willbram, gen., et Joh. Tristen, ex concess: Ab. et Conv. de Persora	Johannes Tyther, cl.	18 July, 1538	Lat. v. 2. f. 7. b.

1 This List has been corrected from Nash's Hist. Worcestershire, Vol. I., p. 147, as far as is printed in Roman type. The names printed in *italics* on the next page were supplied by Mr. Hensley.—ED.

Patrons.	*Incumbents.*	*Instituted.*	*Registers.*
	Lewis ap Rice	1578	
	Tristam Blabie	1585	
	John Roper	1590	
Walterus Savage de Bradweye arm.	Ricardus Stone, A.M.	6 Dec. 1596	R. 32. Bilson f. 72. a.
	Henricus Shelley	11 Junij, 1610	
	Johannes Couch, cl.	22 Maij 1639	R. 33. f, 16. b.
	Robertus Cotton, cl.	23 Sep. 1639	Ib. f. 17. a.
	Johannes Dolphin	1646	
	Thomas Challoner	July, 1652	
	Bryan Morris	1668	
	Thomas Gibson, cl., A.B.	15 Dec. 1693	R. 34. f. 56. b.
	Ricardus Gregory, cl., A.M.	20 Oct. 1696	Ib. f. 62. b.
	Johannes Griffiths, cl., A.B.	6 Maii, 1706	Ib. f. 91. a.
George Savage, gent.	Henry Savage, B.A.	11 Mar. 1736	
Eliz. Savage Spr.	John Palmer, M.A.	27 Feb. 1772	
	W. H. Roberts	1773	
	Charles Crawley	21 Maii, 1784	
	Samuel Franklyn	1848	
	William English	1858	
	Charles Smart Caffin	1862	

The thanks of the Society having, at the instance of the President, been given to their Broadway guides, the party proceeded to the Willersey Camp by way of the London road up Broadway hill. Arriving near the "Fish," and in sight of the tower on the crest of the hill, Mr. Averill passed his visitors over the boundary of Worcestershire into Gloucestershire with the following address :—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Having had the pleasure of accompanying you through my native parish of Broadway, in the county of Worcester, before you enter your own county of Gloucester let me ask you to pause a few moments and enjoy the splendid view, of which we are justly proud, from this hill. The Fish Inn, near us, was built in 1771, when the common fields of Broadway were enclosed and a road up the hill was made, being planned by a man named Webb, of Stanway. In 1823 the road was altered to its present course to make the ascent more easy. The tower was built in 1798 by the then Lord Coventry, in consequence of a fire, lighted on its site for that purpose, being visible from Croome, his lordship's seat in Worcestershire. It is in the Saxon style, the architect being Mr. Stephens, of Worcester. The site is 1,086 feet above the level of the sea. Thirteen counties are visible therefrom. The principal hills to be seen are Dumbleton, Dixton, Cleeve, Bredon, the Malvern Ranges, May Hill, near Ross, the Sugar Loaf, Black Mountain, and other Welsh Mountains, Rainbow Hill, near Worcester, the White Horse Hill, Wilts, Bromsgrove Lickey, Clent Hills, the Wrekin in Shropshire, Lench Hills, Meon Hill, &c., Worcester Cathedral and city, Evesham, Droitwich, Stratford, Warwick, and Leamington. The churches at Coventry can also be seen. Serjt. Talfourd,

in his rambles, says, in all his travels he had not seen any view finer than that from Broadway Hill. Being on the main road from Worcester to Oxford and London, before the days of railways, many coaches and waggons daily ascended and descended this hill. Broadway at that time was a place of much importance; it now seems shut out, being five miles from a railway station—to some a great drawback, to others a charm. If the splendid scenery of the neighbourhood, its healthiness, having pure air and pure water in abundance, also its hotel and lodging accommodation, were more widely known, I feel sure it would be frequently visited by those from many of our large towns seeking rest and quietude. Broadway parish contains 4,750 acres, 386 houses, and a population of 1,641.

At the close of this address the journey was resumed, and Willersey Camp was next reached. It is the site of a British Camp, on property now belonging to Mr. R. N. Chadwick, who had obligingly given permission for its inspection, and also for the explcration of the barrow adjacent. Mr. George B. Witts here acted as *cicerone*, and by his concise and graphic description of the remains gave his auditory clear ideas of their ancient form and uses. The camp, Mr. Witts stated, was 68 acres in extent, and after describing how it was originally constructed, pointed out the number of British camps which were visible from it. Amongst them were those as distant as Shenboro', Cleeve Hill (Cheltenham), Oxenton Hill, May Hill, Welshboro', Malvern, Bredon (2), Meon, Chastleton, and the Rollright stones, to all which, with others, Mr. Witts directed attention. He also described the situation of the camp in relation to the Roman roads and its connection with Saintbury *(Swains'-bury)* camp. From the camp a short walk brought the party to the barrow, which with praiseworthy zeal Mr. Witts had on the previous day, with a willing party of workers, partially excavated. The face of the outer wall of the barrow was exposed for some distance, also the walls of some of the chambers, though displaced probably by previous explorers. Here the bones of the ox were found, and also many fragments of human bones and of pottery, with some flint chips. After an explanation of the form and extent of the barrow, a hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Chadwick for his permission to explore the barrow, and to those who had so well done the work. The carriages were resumed, and on arriving at Kiftsgate Stone the President pointed it out to the party as their carriages arrived in succession at the spot, and thence they were conveyed to the summit of "Dover's Hill." From this hill is a most magnificent panorame, which was seen to great advantage, the atmosphere being just at that time particularly favorable for views of distant scenery. From the hill associated with the historic name of Mr. Dover, the great patron of the Coteswold games, the travellers proceeded to the picturesque town of Chipping Campden, where at the ancient hostelry of the Noel Arms the party alighted to lunch, to which they had been kindly invited by the President. Having partaken of the President's hospitality:

Sir William Guise remarked that he should only be fulfilling the wish of every one present by proposing the health of the President, with their best thanks for his kindness and hospitality on that occasion, which was drunk with three hearty cheers.

The PRESIDENT thanked them for the way in which his health had been received, and for their kindness in assembling at Campden that day. It had been to him a matter of great interest to inspect that morning the barrow which Mr. Chadwick had allowed to be opened on his land. It was one of the most interesting barrows in England, and he believed, as Mr. Witts had said—and he could answer for forty years—that it had never been opened before. It might have been opened in the time of the Romans—but of that he could say nothing. He was also glad to be able to take the Society along the brow of the hill to see what a beautiful view was to be obtained from the Cotes-wolds. That was a district very little known, and he hoped other Societies would follow the example of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society and call the attention of the inhabitants to the beauties of the scenery and to the historical and antiquarian interest attaching to many old buildings and other objects yet remaining, so that they may be led to take an intelligent interest in them and in their preservation.

An adjournment to the church then took place, the party being here under the guidance of the Rev. S. E. Bartleet and the Rev. F. S. Forster (vicar of Campden). The building, the interior of which is now undergoing restoration, is a large and beautiful structure, dating probably from the end of the 15th century. It occupies a very commanding position on the hill, and the tower, which possesses the unusual feature called by Sir Gilbert Scott an "arrow" buttress, is lofty and graceful. Mr. Bartleet, in noticing the remarkable old brasses to be found in this church, gave an interesting sketch of the Grevel family. He assigned to the building the probable date given above, remarking that with all its grandeur, he was afraid it must be described as a debased kind of Perpendicular architecture, and could hardly be put earlier. The church was usually regarded as dedicated to St. James, and the Campden fair was on St. James' day, but there was no record of the dedication. Wm. Grevel in his will directed that his body should be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary at Campden, and that would seem to shew that the church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In Lancashire it was a common thing for the dedication of churches to the Virgin Mary to have been changed at the Reformation, and that might have been the case here, but he could give no further information on that point. That was St. James's eve, and according to the charter of Chipping Campden, a fair was to be held on the eve, the day and the morrow of St. James, but owing to the visit of the Archæological Society the inhabitants had placed the fair a little earlier. This was the proof of the theory of the hereditary transmission of character, for it shewed the commercial feeling to be prevalent in Campden now, as it certainly was in the past.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the day of the fair was changed out of kindness to himself, and solely to accommodate the Society.

Mr. BARTLEET went on to recount the origin and benefactions of the Noel family, but as this point, and several others mentioned in the church, as well as subsequently at the Court, are dealt with in Mr. Bartleet's paper read in the evening, and which will be revised and printed *in extenso* in this volume, it will be unnecessary to enter further upon the subject here.

Mr. FORSTER pointed out several features of interest, and notably an old stone coffin on the north side of the chancel, which when opened a few weeks ago was found in contain a piece of paper stating that the coffin had contained the remains of Caxton, the printer. This extraordinary statement Mr. Forster attributed to a desire on the part of a former churchwarden to identify the coffin as belonging to *somebody*, and Caxton's was the first name that came to his mind. Mr. Forster also mentioned an ancient letter, in which allusion was made to an old stone coffin discovered in this church, and containing the figure of a priest fully vested. After a visit to the crypt the party crossed to the vicarage, where Mr. Forster had arranged a collection of curiosities relating to the church, and borough. Among these was a beautiful miniature of Sir Baptist Noel, first Viscount Campden, and the seal of Sir Edward Noel, Baron Noel of Ridlington (1616), both of which were kindly lent by Canon Bourne. Other objects were an old cope and two ancient altar frontals, the communion plate belonging to the church, the parish registers commencing 1616, the church accounts from 1624 to the present date, a case containing a copy of the Bishop's Bible of 1525, and two ancient copies of Foxe's "Acts and Memorials," and two silver maces belonging to the now practically defunct Corporation of Campden. In the Court grounds, which contain remains of the entrance gate, the banqueting hall, and other portions of the magnificent Campden House, which was burned in the time of the civil war, the church bazaar was then being held. However, Mr. Bartleet delivered an address in the ruins from the steps of the banqueting hall. The examination of the remains was greatly facilitated by a sketch of old Campden House, copies of which were liberally furnished by the President for distribution among the members of the Society. Driving from Campden the party passed through Aston Subedge, Weston Subedge, and Bretforton without stopping. At Badsey tea was kindly provided at the vicarage by the Rev. T. H. Hunt, B.D., who also conducted the Society through the church, which has suffered much from restorers, but is about to receive more intelligent treatment. Some curious facts relating to the churchyard were given, and considerable interest was evoked by Mr. Graham Jackson's architectural report on the building, which was read from the pulpit by Mr. Hunt. The communion cup was exhibited by Mr. Julius Sladden, and pronounced to be a good example of the usual Elizabethan type. This brought the excursion to a close, and the return journey was quickly made to Evesham, where the party arrived rather late.

THE CONVERSAZIONE.

A Conversazione was held in the Town Hall in the evening, which was numerously attended, and great interest was shewn in the examination of the large number of very interesting exhibits in the Temporary Museum, a list of which will be given. The following papers were also read :—

1. By Mrs. BAGNALL-OAKELEY, *On some Sculptured Effigies of Ecclesiastics in Gloucestershire and the neighbourhood.*

2. By the Rev. S. E. BARTLEET, M.A., *On the Manor and Borough of Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire.*

Both of these Papers will be printed in the present volume.

The next paper was read by MR. C. F. HENSLEY.

ON THE MANOR OF WILLERSEY.

The Manor of Willersey, in Saxon times, formed a portion of the demesne of the Mercian Kings, and as such was, late in the 7th century, vested in the crown of that kingdom in the person of Ethelred. That monarch having retired from the throne to become Abbot of Bardney, was succeeded by his nephew Kendred, which prince, with Offa, King of Essex, gave by charter—709—to the Abbey of Evesham "seven manses," or farms, in Willersie. The Abbots of Evesham held the lands until the Conquest, and in Domesday the Manor is stated to belong to the Church of St. Mary, of Evesham. That ancient record states that in Willersie "there are eight hides that pay taxes; there are nine plow tillages, of which three are in Demesne," &c., "and a priest with six plow tillages; there are two servi with a little meadow." It was worth, in Edward the Confessor's time, £4 annually, and at the time of the Conqueror's survey, 100s. From the "Institutes of Evesham Abbey," 1215, we learn that this manor had to pay to the "Manciple," or purveyor of the abbey, annually, "three denarii for the purpose of providing dishes and jugs" for the use of the monks, and also—with other lordships—to provide a large number of eggs for their consumption yearly. The Abbot of Evesham obtained by purchase in the 35th of Henry III., a charter of "Free warren" for this manor. The abbey continued to hold the manor, and had a Court Leet here in Edward I. time. Sir Thomas West held, as tenant to the Abbot of Evesham, 10th of Rich. I. Clement Lichfield was the last abbot who exercised any real jurisdiction over the lands of the abbey. He resigned the Abbacy 1539. Subsequently one Philip Ballard, an Evesham monk, was raised to the Abbacy temporarily, and he, on the 17th Nov., 1539, surrendered the abbey to King Hen. VIII., the annual value of the "Manor of Willersie" to the abbey being stated to be £32 11s. 6d. This manor became now again vested in the crown, and was, with the "Demesne lands" of the abbot, granted, 1545, to John Cock and John Wrath. The manorial rights now passed through various hands, until in 1712 they were vested in Edward Winnington, Esq., son of Sir Francis Winnington, who was Attorney-General to Charles II. From this Edward Winnington, Esq., they have descended to the present proprietor, Sir Francis Salwey Winnington, Bart., of Stamford Court. The Court Leet which had been held here during several centuries was, some few years ago, discontinued, the last "Court" being held 1858. A certain estate at Willersey stood charged with the payment of an annuity to the family of "Penderell," and their descendants, in recompense to them for aiding Prince Charles, after the Battle of Worcester, and preserving his life by hiding him in the oak. This payment is still continued, and issues of land devised by the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., to William Phillipps, Esq., of Hampton. The ancient trackway, known to the Romans as the "Lower Salt Way," traverses the eastern side of this parish of Willersey. This road is laid down in the Rev. Thomas Leman's Map of Ancient British Trackways, as proceeding from Droitwich to Cirencester, and is mentioned in the "Salopia Antiqua" as the "Boggilde," or "Buckle-street"—(charter of Kendred and Offa 709—called "Buegan-street" or Boggilde-street) and is said to pass between Church Honeybourne and Cow Honeybourne, through the parish of Weston Subedge—where it has long been known, locally, as "The

Buckle-street"—continuing up and along the Coteswolds, under the name of the "Salt Way," past the "Beacon Tower," on Broadway, by "Middle Hill," from whence it went in nearly a straight line southward through "Small Thorne" and "Condicote," or possibly otherwise through Cutsdeeme, Temple Guiting, and Naunton, to the "Foss Way" either at Bourton or Stow. A few hundred yards westward of this old trackway, in a field on the Willersey Hill Farm, are the interesting remains of a large camp, which has commonly been attributed to the Danes.[1] It is situated on the brow of the hill, immediately overlooking Farncombe House, the residence of Mr. Chadwick, and just upon the border of the counties of Worcester and Gloucester. This camp may have been occupied by either the West Saxons or Mercians, about the period of their engagement at Berrington. The site of the camp is admirably chosen, a magnificent and very extensive view of the country to the west and north being obtained from it. A careful survey of the ground will amply repay the visitor for his labour in ascending the Broadway Hill.

The next Paper was read by the Rev. N. G. Batt,

On Abbot's Norton.

The Parish of Norton is in the County of Worcester, three miles north of Evesham. It is called Abbot's Norton to distinguish it from the numerous other Nortons, not far distant, because it was part of the original endowment of the Abbey of Evesham by the Kings Kenred and Offa. Lenchwick, another parish a little to the left of the high road from Evesham to the North, is so called from its position below the hilly district, called "The Lenches," from the ancient divisions between the ploughed lands running along the hill sides, which were so called before the enclosure of the common fields. There is a third small hamlet called Chadbury, on the road to Worcester, close to the Avon, near which, on a wooded hill, is Wood Norton, the hunting seat of the Duke d'Aumale, to whom the whole parish belongs, except the vicar's glebe and a few cottages at Norton. The parish of Abbot's Norton is about twelve miles in circumference, bounded on the east and west by the Avon which makes a bend round Evesham, on the north by Harvington parish, from which it is separated by a stream running close to the village of Harvington. On the south the boundary is very obscure, as it is said that part of one house is in Norton and part in Evesham, while as to the Abbey Manor House—Mr. Rudge's mansion—itself is in Evesham, and the porter's lodge in Norton. The population, now about 412, was in ancient times more considerable; there was then a manor house at Lenchwick, and a mill, also a chapel of St. Michael, to which one of the Bigge family made a grant of corn, recorded in the Worcester register. Foundations and broken walls only mark the site of these buildings, and the very position of the chapel is unknown. The village of Norton consists for the most part of old timbered cottages, and is not unpicturesque. The church was built, it is said, by Abbot Brokehampton, who died in 1316, and in whose time the existing entrance to the chapter house at Evesham was erected. There are a few traces of an earlier church of Norman architecture. Like most of the churches of the Vale of Evesham,

1 This Camp is described in Mr. Witts' 'Archæological Hand Book of Gloucestershire," No. 107.—Ed.

it consists of a low square tower, containing a fine ring of bells, a nave, a chancel, and a north transept or chantry chapel, founded by an unknown benefactor, whose likeness, with that of his wife, was to be seen in Nash's time in one of the windows. Having fallen partly into ruin, the church was "restored" about fifty years ago in the bad taste usual at that time, which is also to be seen in St. Lawrence, Evesham. It has lately been considerably improved, and a new chancel roof with several fine painted windows and a lich-gate added, its appearance from the north—shewing the ivy-covered gable of the transept, and its window of peculiar tracery, transition from Decorated to Perpendicular—is venerable and pleasing. The handsome Perpendicular window on the north of the nave was brought from the lately demolished church of Bengeworth, and inserted here by the present vicar. The north door, long blocked up, was removed at the same time and converted into a lich-gate, with the aid of some other materials from Bengeworth. It is considered of a curious pattern by architectural critics. The interior of the north chapel contains three large and elaborate monuments to the three generations of the Bigge family, which illustrate the costumes of the Tudor and Stuart periods. There are also some tombs of the Craven family; and banners, coats of arms, helmet, sword, and spurs, are hung up in honour, it is said, of one of that family who was governor of Carolina. There are also tombs of several vicars, especially of Mr. Peter Cassey, who lived to a great age, and was the son of one of the R. C. demies intruded into Magdalen College by James II. He bequeathed his old-fashioned collection of books to his successors in the benefice. The most interesting object in the church is, however, the stone lectern of Evesham Abbey, originally made by Thomas of Marlborough, when sacrist before his election to the Abbacy in 1230. It represents St. Egwin in pontificals, with crook in hand, giving his benediction, surrounded by foliage and grotesque heads, and, having been dug up among the ruins of the abbey and long preserved at the lodge, was presented to this church by the daughters of Mr. Blayney, as a memorial of their parents. The church, originally served by the sacrist of Evesham Abbey, to whose office the rectory belonged, became a vicarage after the Dissolution, and the great tithes and patronage were granted by King Henry VIII., along with other parsonages, to the newly-founded Dean and Chapter of Worcester, in exchange for their fine manors of Grimley and Hallor. The manor of Norton and Lenchwick was granted, like most of the abbey property, to Sir Philip Hoby, whose brother-in-law, Thomas Bigg, came here, it is said, from Gloucestershire, and served King Henry in his French wars. The next Bigg built the mansion at Lenchwick, and was member for Evesham in 1604. The third Thomas created a Baronet in 1620, sold the estate to the first Lord Craven. His widow, Lady Walters, founded a charity for education, but most of the property was destroyed in the great fire of London. Members of the Craven family resided at Lenchwick till the middle of the last century, when the house was demolished, and the estate sold to the Seymours—one of whom was the Duke of Somerset. From their heirs it was purchased by the late Mr. Holland, member for Evesham, who sold it about 20 years ago to the Duke d'Aumale, the present owner, who often resided at Wood Norton during the reign of the late Emperor Napoleon, and greatly improved the shooting lodge there. Some fragments of antiquity have been recently discovered in an old farm house at Lenchwick, once

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probably attached to the manor house, viz., a curious mural painting of the parable of the Prodigal Son, with costume of the early part of the 16th century, and a much earlier piece of carved oak, probably from Evesham Abbey, now preserved in Norton Church.

The Rev. W. Taprell Allen, M A , read a paper entitled *Notes on the Parish, the Church, and the Ancient Religious Foundations of Ledenia Parva, or St. Briavels,* of which parish he is the Vicar. This will be printed in the present volume. At the close of the meeting the President conveyed the thanks of the Society to all who had read papers.

FRIDAY, 25th July.

The Concluding Meeting.

The members assembled this morning in the Town Hall for the concluding meeting of the session, Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., presided. The first resolution moved by the Chairman, was that Tewkesbury should be the place of the summer meeting of next year, and that the selection of a President for 1885-6 should be left to the decision of the Council. Sir John observed that it had been proposed several times to meet at Tewkesbury, but they had delayed doing so hoping that Sir Edmund Lechmere might be induced to accept the office of President. The motion was at once agreed to.

Votes of thanks were then proposed from the chair and unanimously adopted—to the Mayor and Corporation of Evesham for their courteous reception of the Society and for the use of the Town Hall ; to Mr. Herbert New, President, and the Council of the Institute for the very liberal accommodation afforded the Society at the Institute ; to Mr. E. C. Rudge, Miss Byrch, and the Earl of Wemyss and March for kindly permitting the Society to visit their grounds and residences ; and to the Rev. J. R. Barker, Rev. C. S. Caffin, Rev. F. S. Forster, Rev. T. H. Hunt, and the Rev. P. Norris, for kindly allowing the Society to inspect their churches ; to the President for the hospitality afforded by him to the members of the Society at Chipping Campden ; to Mrs. Hunt for her kind reception of the Society to tea at Badsey Parsonage ; to the Rev. J. R. Barker, Mr. Herbert New, Mr. I. Averill, the Rev. C. S. Caffin, Mr. G. B. Witts, Rev. F. S. Forster, Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Rev. T. H. Hunt, and the Rev. P. Norris for their valuable assistance as guides during the meeting ; to Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, the Rev. S. E. Bartleet, Rev. W. Bazeley, Rev. W. Taprell Allen, Rev. N. G. Batt, Rev. P. Norris, Mr. C. Hensley, and Mr. R. F. Tomes for the papers they had contributed ; to the Local Secretaries and the members of the Local Committee for the excellent arrangements made for the reception and entertainment of the Society at Evesham ; and to the President for the geniality and ability with which he had conducted the business of the annual meeting. On the motion of the Rev. W. Bazeley, seconded by the Rev. W. Bagnall-Oakeley, it was resolved that a copy of the Society's Transactions for this year should be presented to the Evesham Institute, and a copy of last year's to the Institute at Bath.

The Rev. Dr. Caldicott alluded to a reference made in Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley's paper, read the previous evening, to the condition of the recumbent sculptured effigy in Leckhampton churchyard. He remarked that one of

the objects of this Society was to direct attention to such matters, for very often irreparable damage was done because the persons in charge of monuments, exposed as this was, did not think about the mischief that might be so easily remedied. He moved :

"That the Society desires to call the attention of the authorities of the Church of Leckhampton to the serious damage caused to the recumbent sculptured effigy in the churchyard by reason of its position, and to express a hope that some means may be taken to secure the safety of this interesting and valuable monument."

The CHAIRMAN concurred with the resolution, observing that it was rather more the duty of the Society to protect, where they could, than to describe monuments of antiquity.

The motion was seconded by the Rev. W. Taprell Allen, and agreed to unanimously.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY stated that the new rector of Leckhampton was an old schoolfellow of his, and he was sure he would do all he possibly could for the preservation of this monument.

The next topic was introduced by the Rev. W. Bazeley, who said it seemed to him most desirable that they should have in the Transactions for this year some engravings of the very beautiful monuments at Campden. It was imposible for the Society to do all it would like in the way of giving illustrations in the Transactions, and it was therefore hoped that some help would be given to the Society locally. Speaking for himself as a member of the Council, he believed if an effort was made on the part of the gentlemen in the locality to pay half the expense of engraving the three Hicks monuments, and the Smith monument, the Council would meet them and pay the other half.

The Rev. S. E. BARTLEET stated that a few shillings had been subscribed for this object on the spot, thus showing that there was some interest taken in the matter.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY asked the Press to make known this intimation, and to state that any offers should be sent to the Secretaries of the Society, or to Sir John Maclean, the editor of the Transactions.

Sir JOHN MACLEAN adverted to the fact that the brasses in Campden Church had been removed from their original sites and laid in the mid-passage of the chancel, where they were being continually walked over by the clergy and choir. It was incumbent on the Society to suggest that the brasses should be covered by matting or carpet to protect them ; for if they were once destroyed they could not possibly be restored. He did not know if Mr. Bartleet had any influence with the authorities there. If that were not so, the Society should open some communication with them. With respect to Mr. Bazeley's suggestion relative to the Hick's monuments, the expense of engraving them would be very large, and he thought the matter had better be submitted in the first instance for the consideration of the Council.

The Rev. S. E. BARTLEET did not know that he had any influence with the Campden authorities, but he knew them, and was sure that they were

proud of these monuments, and would be glad to accept any suggestion made with a view to their better preservation. He would communicate what had been said, and also say that he entirely sympathised with Sir John's suggestion.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, and renewed acknowledgments of the efforts made by the Evesham people to promote the success of the Society's visit brought the meeting to a close.

On the conclusion of the meeting the members proceeded on an

Excursion to Buckland, Stanway and Hayles.

The morning had begun with a dull threatening sky, and now, as the party left the town, the rain descended steadily and with every prospect of continuance. Nothing daunted the excursionists proceeded on their journey, and fortunately there were several intervals of fine weather during the day, and the excursion proved, upon the whole, a pleasant one. Passing Aston Somerville and Hinton-on-the-Green, and noting the beauties of the varied landscape on either side of the road, the party made a rapid journey to Buckland, where they were cordially received at the parsonage by the Rev. P. and Mrs. Norris. Assembling in the ancient guesten hall, they found a small but interesting museum of curiosities laid out for their inspection, and upon these, as on the noteworthy features of the apartment itself, Mr. Norris offered a few words. He pointed especially to the ancient and beautiful stained glass window, bearing the name of William Grafton, and also containing a rebus upon his surname, viz., a graft rising from a tun ; and also directed attention to two carved figures with wings on the beams of the roof, which, he said, were probably intended to represent a former rector and his wife. Among the curiosities was an ancient cope which had been unpicked and used as an altar cloth, its most recent application being as a pall at the funeral of a respected old lady of the parish. The relic has been frequently exhibited at South Kensington and elsewhere, and is much prized by its possessors. Mr. Norris called attention to the *rose en soleil* in stained glass in the upper part of another window, chiefly composed of plain glass, in the guesten hall, and stated that he hoped to have a painted window inserted in keeping with the existing remains. He also stated that he was in correspondence with the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, and at their different meetings they had discussed, in the most friendly manner, a report he had sent upon Buckland Church, and the result was that he had in his possession a long statement as to what the Society considered ought to be done. Moreover, Mr. Morris, the great authority on stained glass, had kindly offered to visit the church free of expense, examine the east window, and send workmen at cost-price to re-lead and replace the glass, and he trusted that the window would ere long be seen in as good a state as when new.

The Rev. W. Bazeley commented on several points alluded to by Mr. Norris, and stated grounds for believing that William Grafton was rector of Buckland for a great many years, and that he built the parsonage house before the death of Edward the Fourth. No doubt also Grafton put in the east window of the church, the figures in which would probably represent his relations. A move was then made to the church, which was described in Mr. Norris's paper, read on Wednesday evening. On arriving at the

sacred building the party took their seats in the pews, and the Vicar pointed out the remarkable features adverted in his Paper. The greatest attraction was the east window.

The Rev. W. BAZELEY indicated the peculiarities in the costumes of the various figures, which fixed the date of the scenes depicted as between 1470 and 1485, and also drew attention to the misplacement of several pieces of the glass.

The Manor House, now occupied by Mr. A. Perrett, was next visited, but the recent alteration of the building has deprived it of much of its archæological interest, and after a hurried passage through several apartments, the Society took leave of Buckland. It should be stated that the welcome afforded them at this parish, evidenced by the ringing of the bells and the display of flags, was almost unpredecented in the history of the excursions of the Society. The interesting Tudor mansion of the Earl of Wemyss at Stanway, approached by one of the most lovely drives in the vicinity, was the next halting place. Here luncheon was served. The party dividing, and some examining the attractions of the place, while others partook of refreshments. The building, which is chiefly in the Tudor style, has a gateway by Inigo Jones, and is altogether a magnificent structure, fittingly surrounded by exceedingly beautiful and well-kept grounds. The adjacent church presents little that is worthy of note. The weather prospects being at this juncture very unpromising, the party was called together in the Great Hall to hear Mr. Averill read a *Memoir on the Foundation and subsequent History of Hailes Abbey*, which he had intended to read amidst the abbey ruins, but which the unpropitious weather prevented the party generally from visiting. The substance of Mr. Averill's communications, which was listened to with much interest, was chiefly drawn from the Chronicle of Matthew of Paris and from other printed sources, and in conclusion he acknowledged his obligation to Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock for much of his information.

At the request of the Rev. W. BLATHWAYT the President undertook to convey the thanks of the Society to the Earl of Wemyss for allowing the Society to visit the Hall.

Canon BOURNE took the opportunity of thanking Mr. Averill for his paper, and in response to an expression of thanks to himself for the courteous manner in which he had fulfilled the duties of President, and of hope that during his year of office the Society might enjoy one other meeting at least under his leadership, the President said he hoped the meeting had been a pleasant and instructive one to the Society, adding that while he did not know if his engagements would permit him to preside at another meeting, he should have great pleasure in meeting and assisting this or any similar Society that might in the future visit the neighbourhood. The meeting then broke up. From Stanway, some of the party went straight to Beckford Station to catch the train; but the President and some others proceeded to Hailes Abbey, where they were met by the vicar, the Rev. W. D. Stanton, who fully explained the interesting old church, stating that a church existed there 100 years before the Abbey. The ruins of the Abbey were also visited and explained by Mr. Stanton and others, and compared with Buck's engraving before referred to. The President thanked Mr. Stanton for his attention, and thus ended the proceedings.

TEMPORARY MUSEUM.

Catalogue of the Articles exhibited in the Temporary Museum.

By the Rev. Canon BOURNE—

Gold and Silver.

1. A Chalice, enamel on gold, of the 17th century.
2. A Chalice of silver, Russian, beginning of the present century.
3. A Needle-case of gold, of the reign of George II.
4. Three specimens of Silver Sugar Tongs of different ages.
5. Three do. do. Thimbles do.
6. A Spoon of the time of Charles I., 1644
7. Do. do. James II., 1689
8. Do. rat-tailed, 1730
9. Do. old French, of the last century.
10. Do. Norwergian, of the last century.
11. A Bodkin, of the time of Charles II., 1674.
12. A Taster, do. William III., 1691.
13. A Porringer do. do. 1698.

Coins—Four cases containing the following, all found in the neighbourhood of Weston Subedge :—

14. A Gold Piece, of the reign of Edward III., 1237.
15. Sixty Silver Pieces of various reigns.
16. Sixty Tradesmen's Tokens of various towns.
17. Sixty Roman Silver and Copper Coins.
18. A Shilling, of the reign of James II.
19. Two early British Coins.

Books, &c.

20. Speed's Maps, a large copy, 1610.
21. Annalia Dubrensia, or the Celebration of Capt. Robert Dover's Cotteswold games, original edition, a perfect copy, 1636.
22. A Handbill of the Dover's Hill Games, 1806.
23. Do. do. do. 1819.

By Mr. H. NEW—

1. The Great Seal of Evesham Abbey, a lease dated 16th May, 30th of Henry VIII. (1538) of a close called Hygden, bounded on the east by the road leading to Chadbury Hill, and on the west by the river Avon. About one-third of the seal remains unbroken.

2. Deed of the 8th of Rich. II. (1384). Entails of land in Linch Randolfe, Radford and Bishampton. John Sampson to Richard de Lench Randolfe and Margery his wife.
3. Deed of Edward III., relating to Lench Randolfe and Radford.
4. Autograph of William Cecil, Lord Burghley to an old deed, much mutilated.
5. Autograph of Robert Cecill to a Deed of Grant of Queen Elizabeth to Timothy Smith, of Evesham, gent., 43rd & 44th of Elizabeth (1600-1.)
6. Oliver Cromwell, Protector, Grant of Administration to Mary Merrell, widow of John Merrill, of Flyford Flavell, dated 1654.
7. A Sepia Drawing, by T. Coulson, of St. Lawrence's Church, Evesham, in ruins, 1833. This church was restored in 1837.
8. Three Water-Colour Drawings of the Old Bridge, Evesham, taken down for the erection of the new one, which was opened for traffic in 1856.
9. Drawings by Mr. T. Locke Worthington, of Manchester, architect, of the old lantern and fireplace in the almonry of the Abbey of Evesham, and other views of antiquities in Evesham.
10. Old Engraving of the Bell Tower and Chapter House Arch, Evesham Abbey.

By the Rev. J. Ross BARKER—

1. "The Practice of Piety," by Lewis Bayly, vicar of Evesham in 1611; Bishop of Bangor, in 1616, and tutor to Prince Henry, son of Jas. I. Early edition, 4½ ins. by 2½ ins.
2. England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, described and abridged with Historic Relation of things worthy memory from a farr larger voulume. Done by John Speed, anno 1627—4 ins. by 6 ins.
3. Illuminated Vellum MS., commencing with the Lord's Prayer.
4. A Bronze Medallion with legend: "Arrivée du Rei á Paris Le 6 Octobre, 1789—3¼ ins. diameter.
5. Great Seal of England, Charles I. Attached to a deed signed "Bacon."

By Mr. E. V. NICHOLLS—

A number of Copper Plates, formerly belonging to M. De La Motte, as follows :—

1. South View of Allesley Church, Warwickshire.
2. The House in which Sir Isaac Newton was born at Wolsthorpe, Lincolnshire.
3. Church at Reculver, near Margate, called "The Sisters."
4. Tickencote Church, Rutlandshire.
5. South View of Watford Church, Hertfordshire.
6. House at Linlithgow, from which Hamilton shot the Regent Moray, 1570.
7. Font at Islip Church, Oxfordshire, in which King Edward the Confessor is said to have been baptized.
8. Ashton Hall, Lancashire.
9. The Bloody Tower in the Tower of London.

10. Antiquities found at Oddington, Gloucestershire, in 1784.
11. Memorial Window in Middleton Church, Lancashire, shewing the likenesses of those who caused the window to be erected, 1510.

Also lent by the same exhibitor the following :–

12. A small Silver Pounce Box.
13. A Gold Medal of the 18th century.

By the Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram—

(*Neolithic Period*)

1. A Unique Chlorite Slate Wristguard.
2. A fine Smoothed Flint Axe, found at Harvington.
3. A small Clay Cup for body paint.
4. A Flint Slingstone.
5. Perforated Stone Beads for necklace.

(*Bronze Period*)

6. A Bronze Celt, from Church Lench.
7. A Bronze Wedge, from Knole Hill, near Evesham.

(*Heathen Saxon Period*)

8. Three fine Ornamented Bronze Gilt Round Hovelus.
9. Two smaller Plain Bronze Gilt Round Brooches.
10. One Harp-shaped ditto, with portion of the cloak attached.
11. One large Polished ditto
12. One small Clasped-shaped ditto
13. One large Brooch, not gilded.
14. Iron Bosses of Wicker Shields, from Bidford and Norton.
15. Iron Spear-head Beads.
16. A Wolf Ornament of Latten Metal on Wooden Drinking Cup, from Bidford.
17. Amber Beads for necklace.
18. Three Silver Rings.
19. One Silver Serpent Ring.

(*Roman and Romano-British Period*)

20. A Bronze Figure of Jupiter Tonans.
21. A Bronze Figure of a Boar, votive offering to Diana, found on the banks of the Avon at Weston-on-Avon, Gloucestershire, associated with fragments of Roman pottery.
22. A Bronze Handle of Key, found at Blackminster, near Evesham.
23. A Glass Lacrymatory, from the same place.
24. A fragment of a Roman Glass Bottle, found at Alcester.
25. Patĕra of Samian Ware, from a Roman Villa, near Alcester.
26. A Roman Tessera, from Alcester.

(*Mediæval Period*)

27. A Gilded Stirrup.
28. An Iron Cheek Ornament of a Horse, probably slain at the battle of Evesham, and found at that place.

By Mr. A. H. SAVORY—

A collection of old Worcester China, consisting of the following pieces :—

1. A pair of Heart-shaped Desert Dishes, marked W. and decorated with birds and insects in gold-bordered panels on a scale blue ground.
2. A pair of Desert Plates, with the same mark and decoration.
3. Two Fluted Desert Plates, with the same decoration, and marked respectively W., and a cresent.
4. A pair of Oval Openwork Fruit Baskets, externally embossed with flowers, and internally painted with flowers and festoons of foliage, with gold borders on a gros bleu ground.

The above, marked W., were probably manufactured while Dr. Wall was the head of the Worcester China works during the early part of the latter half of the last century, and belong to the period when artistic decoration of china, both in form, colour and design, was at its best. The crescent mark appears to have been used almost at the same time, or perhaps a little later.

By Miss SLATTER—

A collection of Bronze Saxon (?) remains found at Fairford, Gloucestershire, as follows :—

1. A Bronze-gilt Brooch or Fibula.
2. A Bronze-silvered ditto, formed by round pellets, with an imbricated arrangement, and a separate tubercle.
3. A Bronze Brooch, consisting of a flattened ring, ornamented by triangular indentations, between circles with a central point or dot.
4. A Bronze Brooch, or Buckle, of a quadrangular form and rounded angles.
5. A Bronze Buckle of an oblong form.
6. Ditto of a triangular form.
7. A Bronze Brooch, or safety pin
8. Ditto Pin.
9. Ditto Stud.
10. Ditto Quadrangular Buckle.
11. An Iron Buckle of an oval form.
12. A Bronze Lamp.
13. Five Bronze and two Iron Rings.
14. Three Iron Keys.
15. An Iron Nail-head found, with many others, at the foot of a skeleton.
16. A Bronze Ring.
17. Two D-shaped, and fragments of a Floriated Bronze Ornament.
18. Four Heads, one curiously carved.
19. A Copper Crucifix, gilded, from the churchyard at Newnham.
20. A pair of Iron Forceps, found near Lydney.

By Mr. R. F. TOMES–

A collection of the several editions of the Royalist publications, as as follows :—

1. Boscobel; or, the History of His Sacred Majestie's Most Miraculous Preservation after the Battle of Worcester, 3rd September, 1651.
2. Edition 1660. The first part only, with portrait of the King, arms of Colonel Carlis, and a plan of Boscobel.
3. Edition 1660. The first part only, portrait, but neither arms nor plan. Appears to be quite distinct from the above. having on the title page and other places in the text, a somewhat different type. Moreover the dedication to the King is in smaller type and has an addition. This is probably the second edition.
4. Edition 1662. Two parts complete, with portrait, arms and plan of of Boscobel.
5. Edition 1680. Two parts complete, with portrait, arms and plan, to which is added Mrs. Anne Windham's Claustrum Regale Reservatum, with ornamented title to the last, representing Trent and Worcester. This is styled on the title page, "the 3rd edition with additions."
6. Edition 1725. Two parts, and the Claustrum Regale Reservatum, styled "the 4th edition."
7. Edition 1743. A re-print of the last, but styled "the 5th edition."
8. Edition 1748. Similar to the last, but styled "the 6th edition."
9. Edition 1769. Published at Worcester, with a plan of the Battle of Worcester, of Boscobel, and an illustration representing the King making his escape under the protection of the Pendrells. No portrait.
10. Edition 1786. Published at Birmingham.

    Edition 1809. The first part only. Published at Doncaster.
11. Edition 1822. Published at Wellington. A re-print of the 1st edition, and containing the first part only.
12. Edition 1858. Boscobel; or, a Narrative of the Adventures of Chas. II., with illustrations, 8vo, Wolverhampton. A distinct work from any of the foregoing.
13. Edition 1860. London. A re-print of the first part only.
14. White-Ladies; or, His Sacred Majesties Most Miraculous Preservation after the Battle at Worcester September 3, 1651. Faithfully imparted for the satisfaction of the Nation by Eye-witnesses. By Special Command. London, 1660.
15. The Royal Oake; or, an Historical Description of the Royal Progress, wonderful travels, miraculous escapes, and strange accidents of His Sacred Majesty Charles the II., Third Monarch of Great Britain. By John Danvers, a loyal subject and servant to His Majesty. London, 1660.
16. An Account of the Preservation of King Charles II., after the Battle of Worcester. Drawn up by himself. London, 1803. This is an extract from Pepys Diary.

17. A Short History of the Life of Major John Bernardi. He was at one time a resident in Evesham, and in this work is an account of the escape of Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester. London, 1729.
18. *Vindiciæ Thesium de Sabbato*, or a vindication of certain passages in a sermon (delivered at Pebworth, Gloucester, March 6th, 1649) of the morality of the sabbath, from the exceptions to which they are unjustly subjected by Edward Fisher, Esq., in his book called a Christian Caveat, &c. By Giles Collier, M.A., Preacher of the Gospel at Blockley, in Worcestershire. London, 1653.
19. A True Relation of the late Expedition of his Excellency, Robert Earle of Essex, for the Relief of Gloucester, with the description of the fight at Newbury. London, 4to, 1643.
20. A True Relation of a wicked Plot intended and still on foot against the City of Gloucester, to betray the same into the hands of cavaliers. London, 4to, 1844.
21. Hydrologia Philosophica ; or, an account of Ilmington Waters in Warwickshire ; with directions for the drinking of the same. By Sam. Derham, Bachelor in Physic, lately of Magd. Hall, Oxon. Oxford, 1685.
22. A collection of Coats of Arms borne by the Nobility and Gentry of the County of Gloucester. London, 4to, MDCCXCII.
23. A collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities. By Samuel Lysons, F.R.S., F.A.S. London, folio, 1803.
24. An Early-English Tyg, or Three-handled Drinking Cup.
25. A Bellarmine, or Grey-beard Jug, of the time of Queen Elizabeth.
26. A Tea Service of Old Worcester China, consisting of thirty-one pieces of black transfer ware, decorated by copper-plate representations of classical buildings in ruin.
27. A Tea Service of the same ware, consisting of fourteen pieces of fine porcelain, white relieved by a delicate embossed pattern, and a blue border, marked by a crescent.
28. Part of a Tea Service, consisting of ten pieces richly decorated with a scale blue and white ground, and flowers and insects in bands and panels. Marked with the square Japanese mark.
29. A large Lozenge-shaped Fruit Dish, with floriated handles, and richly painted with flowers and insects.

By Mr. I. AVERILL—

1. A Painting in Oil of the Church of St. Eadburg, Broadway. By —— Parkman, R.A.

By T. S. SHEKELL—

1. A Chalice and Patten of latten metal, found in a stone coffin in the chancel of Pebworth Church.

By the Rev. S. E. BARTLEET—

1. A re-print of a Tract by Jonathan Hulls, of Chipping Campden, entitled "A Description and Draught of a New-Invented Machine for carrying Vessels or Ships Out of or Into any Harbour, Port, or River, against Wind and Tide, or in a Calm, &c., 1737" London, re-printed 1860.

By Mr. George Eades—

1. A Repeater Watch, called a "Nuremburg Egg," found on pulling down an old house in Evesham, and supposed to have belonged to Charles I. or one of his officers.
2. A Roman Gem, in mediæval setting as a signet ring—device, a sphinx; inscription, LICOCATRIX; found with a hoard of coins of Edward I. in the abbey gardens, Evesham.
3. A Processional Cross of Evesham Abbey.
4. A collection of Roman Coins in five trays.

By Mr. H. Ward—

A collection of Coins, about 120 in number, all found within a radius of 7 miles of Evesham, comprising :—

1. A Gold Coin (Boadicea), found near Rous Lench.
2. Fourteen Silver and one Gold Coin of the early Henrys' and Edwards' reign, found in the neighbourhood of Evesham.
3. A Gold Coin, supposed to be of Richard III., found near Hampton.
4. A Silver Coin of Henry VIII., and a base Coin of the same king, found in old buildings in Evesham.
5. A Sixpence of Queen Mary, and a Shilling of William and Mary, found in old buildings in Evesham.
6. Thirty-six Coins, all silver, of different mintages of Queen Elizabeth, all found in old buildings in Evesham.
7. Four Silver and one Gold Coin of James I., found near Evesham.
8. One Fourpenny, seven Sixpenny, and ten Shilling pieces of Charles I., found in old buildings in Evesham.
9. A clipped Half-crown of the same reign, found in Evesham.
10. Two Silver Coins of the Commonwealth period.
11. Two Crown-pieces, one Half-crown, one Shilling, two Fourpenny-pieces, three Threepenny-pieces, and one Twopenny-piece, of the reign of Charles II., all of silver, and found near Evesham.
12. One Half-crown, one Shilling-piece, and a Farthing of William and Mary, found in old buildings in Evesham.
13. Five Shilling-pieces, three Sixpenny, and one Threehalfpenny-piece of the reign of Queen Anne.
14. Six Silver Coins of George I., II., and III.
15. A Silver Medal, struck to commemorate the marriage of George III. and Queen Charlotte.
16. A Silver Medal, struck to commemorate the Institution of the British and Foreign Bible Society.
17. A Gold Twisted Talque, found at Offenham.
18. A Bronze Roman Catholic Ornament, found at Netherton, nr. Evesham.
19. An Antique Silver Watch, made by Francis Perkins, of Evesham, date about 1675.

By Mr. T. Adkins—

1. A Matchlock.

2. A Photograph, shewing a great number of human skeletons exhumed at Milcote, near Stratford-on-Avon, in 1866.

By Mr. G. WOODMAN,

1. A Brass Tobacco Box, of an oval form, ornamented by armorial bearings.

By Mr. H. FOWLER—

1. A Matchlock.

By Mr. JOHN HOPKINS—

1. A small Drawing, in frame, with the following inscription :—"The Delineation of a CHAIR and a STOOL now in the possession of Wm Sands Esqr of Barton-on-the-Heath in the County of Warwick, said to be the property of Kg Charles the first, and to have been used upon the Scaffold of that unfortunate monarch at the time of his execution, 1724

J. H. Delin"

By the BOROUGH OF EVESHAM—

The Governing Charter of the Town. Dated at Westminster, 3rd April, 3rd James I., 1605. Temporarily suspended by James II: but restored in 1688.

2. Two Maces, silver gilt.

3. A Silver Cup and Patten, silver gilt.

List of Books belonging to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

(Deposited at the Museum and Library, Bristol.)

Antiquaries, Proceedings of the Society of (2nd series), Vols. I to IX. part 3, 1859-1883. *(In exchange for the Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society).*

Archæologia Cantiana, Vols. I. to VIII. *(By purchase).*

Archæologia Cantiana, Vol. IX. (*Presented by the Kent Archæological Society*).

Archæologia Cantiana, Vols. X. to XV. *(In exchange).*

Archæological Journal, Vols. I-V. (*By purchase*).

Archæological Journal, Vols. VI-XXV. 1849-1868. *(Presented by the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland).*

Archæological Journal, Vols. XXVI-XXXIII. (*By purchase & presentation*).

Archæological Journal, Vols. XXXIII-XLI. *(In exchange).*

Baves of Bath and of Barrow Court, Tickenham, co. Somerset, by Rev. F. J. Poynton. (*Presented by the Author.*)

Bath, Monumental Inscriptions at, by Anthony A. Wood. (*Presented by J. G. Godwin*).

Bitton, History of the Parish of, by the Rev. Henry Thomas Ellacombe, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of St. George's, Clyst. 2 Vols, 4to. Privately Printed *(By Purchase).*

Booterstown and Donnybrook, sketches of, by Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., parts 3 and 4. Dublin, 1872, 1874, 12mo *(Presented by the Author).*

Brading, Remains of Roman Buildings at, by John E. Price, F.S.A. and F. G. Hilton Price, F.G.S. (*By exchange.*)

Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society's Transactions, Vol. I.-VIII.

Bristol, Bath, and South Wales Archæological Magazine, Parts 1, 2, and 3. [all printed] *(Presented by Mr. Kerslake).* London, 1843

Essex Archæological Society, Transactions of (new series), Vols. I. and II., part 3.

Gloucestershire Notes & Queries, Vol. I. *(Presented by Rev. H. B. Blacker).*

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, Vol. II. (*By purchase*).

Gloucestershire, Ordnance Map of. *(By purchase).*

Gloucestershire, Bells of, by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe. (*By purchase.*)

Kelston, Memorials of the Parish of, by the Rev. F. J. Poynton. (*Presented by the Author*).

Montgomeryshire Collections, Vols. XI. to XVII., Part 3. *(In exchange).*

,, ,, Index to, Vols. I.-XIV.

Scotland, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of. (New series). Vols I-V. *(In exchange.)*

Scraps of Ancient Bristol.

Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's Journal, Vols. III.-VIII. Taunton, 1879-80. *(In exchange).*

Stonehenge and its Barrows, by WILLIAM LANG, M.A., F.S.A. *(Presented by the author).* Devises, 1876, imp. 8vo.

ENGRAVINGS.

Engravings, various *(Presented by R. Lang, Esq., and others).*

ANTIQUITIES.

Ancient Stone, found in Bristol. *(Presented by Mr. Pope.)*

(Deposited at the Museum, Gloucester.)

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, Transactions of, Vols. I.-VIII.

Bristol, Bath, and South Wales Archæological Magazine, Parts 1, 2, and 3. (all printed) *(Presented by Mr. Kerslake).* London 1843 (duplicate copy)

British Archæological Association, Journal of, Vols. I.-IV., XVI., XVII, XXV-XXX. *(By purchase.)*

British Archæological Association, Journal of, Vols. XXXV.-XLI. *(In exchange).*

British Barrows, by Rev. W. GREENWELL, M.A., and PROFESSOR ROLLESTON, M.D. *(Presented by Professor Rolleston).* Oxford, 1877, 8vo.

Cheltenham, Monumental Inscriptions in the Parish Church of, by Rev. B. H. BLACKER, M.A. *(Presented by the author).* London, 1877

Corinium, Remains of Roman Art at. *(Presented by Rev. E. Estcourt).* 4to, 1850.

Cotteswold Games. London, 1636. *(Presented by Sir Brook Kay, Bart.)*

Cornwall, Journal of the Royal Institution of,[1] Nos. V.-XXIX. *(In exchange).*

Cornwall, Various Reports of the Royal Institution of. *(In exchange)*

Cotteswold Field Club, Journal of, Vols. I-VI. *(In exchange).*

Dean, Iron-making in the Forest of, by Rev. H. G. NICHOLLS. *(Presented by Sir John Maclean, F.S.A.)* London, 1866.

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ENGRAVINGS

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MANUSCRIPTS.

Court Roll of the View of Frank Pledge of the Seven Hundred Division of Gloucestershire, viz :—Cirencester, Crowthorne, Rapsgate, Brightwell's Barrow, Longtree, and Whitston. 7 Elizab, and 11 Elizab.

Pipe Roll of Charge and Discharge of Paul Tracy, Esq., Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 28 Elizab. (*By Purchase*)

COINS.

A collection of Gloucestershire Tradesmen's Tokens, &c. (*By purchase*).

ANTIQUITIES.

Cast of a fragment of Monumental Inscription, found in the ruins of the Chapel of the Hospital of St. John, Cirencester. (*Presented by E. C. Sewell, Esq.*)[1]

1 Engraved Trans. Vol. VIII., p. 184.

ON SOME SCULPTURED EFFIGIES OF ECCLESIASTICS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By MARY ELLEN BAGNALL-OAKELEY.

In the century which immediately succeeded the Norman conquest of England, the memorials of the dead consisted usually of slabs of stone or marble, on which were figured the symbol of the cross, and occasionally some device indicating the profession of the departed; or upon the coffin was placed a coped lid, either quite plain or similarly ornamented. To these succeeded an attempt to represent the person commemorated by an effigy in low relief, and in the 14th century it was a common practice to place on the slab or coffin lid the face, or upper part of the figure, either in relief, or incised: gradually these gave way to full length figures in low relief; but figures of life-size, and high tombs were used only for the wealthy; and it is therefore not common to find them commemorating priests and other ecclesiastics below the dignity of bishops and abbots, though they are occasionally met with in country churches and in some of our cathedrals and abbeys.

There are in Gloucestershire a few very interesting examples of ecclesiastical effigies, and these give a good representation of the habiliments of ecclesiastics of different degrees at the period in which they were executed, and of some of the changes which took place in these vestments from time to time. Monumental effigies are occasionally met with in processional, or choir habits, but they are generally represented as attired for the celebration of the Mass in the habits peculiar to their offices. In the case of bishops and mitred abbots these vestments were as follows (a special prayer being said as each was assumed) :—

1st. The stockings or buskins [1]	2nd. The sandals
3rd. The amice	4th. The alb
5th. The girdle	6th. The stole
7th. The tunic	8th. The dalmatic
9th. The gloves	10th. The ring
11th. The chasuble	12th. The maniple
13th. The mitre	14th. The pastoral staff

An archbishop wore in addition a pallium, or pall, and used a crosier instead of a pastoral staff.

The Stockings, or Caligæ, or Buskins, as they are occasionally called, were anciently worn only by the Bishop of Rome, but in the 9th century they were generally used by all bishops, and local councils sanctioned them at different dates. They were made of cloth of gold or other costly material.

Sandals,[2] or the official shoes of an archbishop or bishop, were in early times made with very pointed toes, but by the 15th century they had become rounded, and are occasionally seen with square toes; at first they were of leather, but after a time velvet was used as the material most easily ornamented with embroidery. In Anglo-Saxon times sandals were worn by all clerics, but soon after the time of St. Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury, 1072-1099, they began to be reserved for bishops.[3]

The Amice, or Amictus,[4] was an oblong piece of fine linen, sometimes having on one side a piece of embroidery called an apparel,[5] and it was worn by all the clergy above the minor

[1] This list is from the Rationale of Durandus, Bishop of Mende, who died A.D. 1296, and from some earlier writers on the subject.

[2] So called because the leather of which they were made was dyed with sandal-wood.

[3] At the same period the lower clergy in England were prohibited from wearing shoes or stockings dyed either green or scarlet. This has been emphatically forbidden by old national councils. That of Exeter in 1287, and especially in the second Canon of the Council of London, 1342, is a pointed prohibition against their wearing green or scarlet-coloured leggings.—*Caligæ rubæ scaccatæ et virides.* (Wilkins, Concil. ii. p. 703).—ED.

[4] From amicere, to cover, as it was used to cover the head at certain parts of the service.

[5] From parare, to ornament.

orders. It was first placed on the head like a hood,[1] tied under the arms by strings, and only turned back on preparing to go to the altar. On early monuments the amice is represented like a stiff collar to the chasuble, and often shows the strings by which it was tied, but as time went on, it became looser and more carelessly executed, and is more like a falling collar *upon* the chasuble without any strings showing. In several early Anglo-Saxon pontificals the amice is alluded to as being one of the vestments used at the Altar, and at this time it seems to have been peculiar to England, for it was not till the 9th century that it was formally recognized by the whole western church.[2]

The Alb, or *Tunica Alba*,[3] is a long white garment much resembling a surplice, but is an entirely distinct vesture, and may be known by the sleeves being made tight, so that the hands of the celebrant may be at liberty when ministering at the Altar, although on late monuments the sleeves are more full than at an earlier period. On some monuments the albs are very long and flowing nearly to the feet, and perfectly plain, while on others they are less full, short enough to show the cassock, and ornamented at the bottom of the skirt in front and round the wrists with embroidery. The first of these is probably the white alb plain, alluded to in the first prayer-book of Edward VI.[4] which is called the "alba pura," the ornamented one being called "alba parata."

The *Girdle*, or *Cingulum*, was worn over the Alb and from ancient lists of vestments it would appear that the bishops wore

[1] In early Saxon times the hood was of a three-cornered straight-sided shape, but afterwards the form became somewhat altered, still maintaining the triangular figure, but with circular instead of straight lines on two of its sides and having its downward point much blunted, and this shape continued in use down to the period of the Reformation. As time advanced instead of being a practicable hood it became a mere ornament, sewn on to the vestment, whether Chasuble or Cope, of rich material and design, and not unfrequently made of thin plates of solid gold or silver and glittering precious stones.—See *Church of Our Fathers*, Vol. II. pp. 33-36.—Ed.

[2] Lee's Glossary of Liturgical & Ecclesiastical Terms.

[3] Alba, white.

[4] See rubric at the commencement of the Office for Holy Communion.

a second girdle called a *subcinctorium*, though it is not very clear how it was used.[1] The cingulum was usually made of white thread twisted, with a tassel at each end, but in some cases it was made flat like a band, and is so represented in many old illuminated MSS.[2]

The Stole, or *Orarium*,[3] is a long narrow band or scarf of embroidered silk or other material with fringed ends, and is one of the ornaments still worn by the clergy of the church of England. Of the origin of the stole there is much uncertainty, some considering that it was originally a much larger garment called a stola, which was ornamented with two stripes of cloth, the width of which depended on the rank of the wearer,[4] and that this became by degrees smaller and smaller, till nothing but the two stripes remained. The stole is worn by bishops, pendent in front, by priests it is crossed over the breast, confined to the waist by being placed under the girdle, and deacons wear it over their left shoulder, and tied under the right arm. Before the use of the tunic and the later privilege of wearing the dalmatic were accorded to deacons, the stole was the emblem of their order, and it was delivered to them by the bishop at their ordination with the book of the Gospels.

The Tunic, or Colobium, or Subtile is similar in shape to the dalmatic, but has shorter sleeves, is longer in the skirt, and less decorated. It is worn by prelates over the alb, and under the dalmatic, and is the peculiar dress of the sub-deacon when vested to assist at the Mass. Its use was introduced somewhat late, as there is no mention of it in the early writings, and in A.D. 590 St. Gregory says that the sub-deacons were arrayed in white albs at the Altar. In A.D. 1130 Honorious mentions that the garment proper to be worn by the sub-deacon was called the subtile.

[1] This is now only used by the Pope of Rome.

[2] See plate L in Marriott's Vestiarum Christianum

[3] Either from *ora face*, from the use to which it was applied of wiping the face, as well as shrouding it, or from *orare*, to *pray*, as it was worn by the early christians at public prayer.

[4] If the wearer was of senatorical rank, the stripe was wide, and was called Latus Clavus, if he was a knight, the stripe was narrow, and was called Angustus Clavus.

The Dalmatic. This is a long robe open on both sides, and probably derives its name from Dalmatia, where it was an ordinary dress. It has large wide sleeves, and was originally decorated with the two stripes, as in the case of the stola, and these are now represented by apparels before and behind the dalmatic. It was worn by several of the Roman emperors, and considered a garment peculiar to the regal power, and it is still worn by the Kings of England at their coronations with the tunic, stole, and cope or pall.

The dalmatic is the proper vesture for deacons when assisting at the Altar, but its use is not wholly confined to them, as it appears to have been used by prelates as early as the 4th century. It must have been in use in England in A.D. 687, for when the body of St. Cuthbert was disinterred in A.D. 1004, it is recorded that the body of the saint, amongst other vestments, was found in his dalmatic of purple.[1] The ancient Sarum use required a bishop when saying Mass to be vested in both tunic and dalmatic, and it also directed the thurifers, candle-bearers, and singing clerks to be vested in tunics. Our present rubric directs that the "Gospeller and Epistoler" are to have upon them the vesture appointed for their ministry, that is to say "albs with tunicles."

The Gloves, Chirothecæ of a prelate should be richly embroidered, and a jewelled ornament is often seen at the back of the hand: they were made originally of leather, but afterwards usually of white silk, and they have often tassels hanging from the wrists. The episcopal use of gloves is of considerable antiquity, and priests also wore them,[2] but their adoption as a part of the official

[1] Raine's St. Cuthbert, Appendix 3, p. 202.—Ed.

[2] We were not aware that gloves were worn in the solemnization of religious rites by ecclesiastics under the degree of a Bishop. These ornaments were made of the richest materials and decorated with the choicest needlework, and often enhanced with gold and jewels.

The tassels referred to in the text must not, however, be confounded with the *tassellus*. The latter consisted of plates of beaten gold or silver, often set with gems, and used for the adornment in various ways of the sacred attire of the higher clergy (see ante under *Amice*). Among other uses small gold or silver plates set with precious stones were sewn on the backs of Episcopal Gloves: *Chirothecæ Aurisfrisiatæ* were worn by the Priors of Winchester. And in the year 1381, belonging to Canterbury

habiliments of a bishop did not take place until about the 12th century.[1]

The Ring, *annulus* is often worn over the gloves. It was adopted as one of the bishop's official insignia as early as the 4th century, and it has been found in the coffins of several Anglo-Saxon prelates. It was made of gold, and often set with a jewel.[2]

The Chasuble or *Planeta*,[3] is the last and most important of the priestly habits for the Mass, and is often spoken of as THE VESTMENT. There is but little doubt that the chasuble, as it is represented on ancient monuments, is almost identical in shape with the vesture which was used in celebrating the Holy Mysteries in the very earliest ages of the church, for in the catacombs at Rome, and in the frescos and mosaics of the most ancient churches in Christendom, the ministers at the Altar are represented in vestments of a similar shape, and in the oldest illuminated manuscripts, the priest is always depicted at the Altar in a vesture of this kind, varying a little in size and fulness at different dates, but with very slight change from the original form, except that it became gradually smaller, and more stiff and rigid from excess of ornamentation. It owes its origin to a species of cloak which

Cathedral were: *Chirothecæ R. de Winchelsea cum perulis et gemmis in plata quadrata.* And again: *Item—Par unam cum tesselis argenteis et parvis lapidibus.*—ED.

[1] Haines says they were worn in the 8th century.—*Monumental Brasses*, p. LXX.

[2] Not every ring worn by a Bishop was an Episcopal ring, but that which when vested was worn on the last finger but one of his right hand. English Bishops, when celebrating high mass, often wore several rings, particularly a large one on the thumb; and it is to be remarked that in mediæval times this, as well as the pontifical and every other ring, seems never to have been passed below the second joint of the finger, but it is otherwise now. The pontifical ring was generally rich, and in consequence of its being intended to be worn over a glove it was large and massive. It is often set with a valuable jewel, generally a saphire, a large emerald, or a ruby. The signet ring was quite different. It is curious that Doctors in Divinity, in virtue of their degrees, are entitled to wear rings, but they must put them off when they celebrate mass. They were wholly forbidden to the clergy of lower degree.—ED.

[3] From *Casula*, a little house, or dwelling, as this garment was originally very large and nearly covered the wearer.

was called by the Romans the *pænula*, and it is supposed by many commentators to be the same kind of mantle as that mentioned by St. Paul, when he requested Timothy to bring with him *the cloak*, which was left at Troas with Carpus.[1] For several centuries the pænula was worn both by clerics and laymen alike, but when fashion had invented some other clothing for the latter, the pænula continued to be the usual dress of the clergy, and was indicative of their order in society. It was not till many years had elapsed, that it became, as it were, dedicated to the service of the altar, and it is not till the closing part of the 6th century that it is alluded to as a strictly sacerdotal vestment.[2]

The Maniple or *Fanon*, is represented on monuments as worn on left arm, but in early MSS. and frescos, it is represented as held in the left hand of the minister. It is shaped somewhat like the stole, though it does not always match it in shape or size, and both vary slightly at different dates. Originally the maniple was a narrow band of linen, some say that it was used to wipe the chalice previous to the first oblation, others consider that it was for the purpose of wiping the perspiration from the brow of the minister; but for whatever purpose it was originally intended, it became as time went on so richly embroidered with gold and jewels, that it was useless for either purpose, though it continued to be retained as one of the sacred ecclesiastical ornaments, and was worn by bishops, priests, and deacons without distinction, and at the ordination of a sub-deacon the bishop placed the maniple on his left arm, as appears from the pontificals.

[1] II Timothy iv, 13.

[2] England was always famous for the richness and beauty of her sacred vestments. Italy could not shew anything equal to them. The sequence of colours in the Anglo-Saxon Church was, to a great extent, continued in the Salisbury Use, which differed, in some respects, from the use in the Roman Communion, *e.g.* the ferial colour, according to the former, was blue. The chasuble of Abbot Foliot is so coloured (*see post* p. 59), whilst in the latter it was, and we believe is, green. Hence before the rage of "restoration" set in, the altar covering in many of our old country churches was blue; faded, dirty, and shabby, as it usually was. In some places yellow vestments were worn. It is to be regretted that in the resumption of these seemly vestures in our services the old English use of Salisbury was not restored.—Ed.

The Mitre, or Mitra. There are three kinds of mitre, the first, or plain mitre (simplex) is made of white linen, and only ornamented by a gold or crimson lining. Secondly, the gold embroidered mitre, or *aurifrigiata*, which owes its ornamentation to a few small pearls, and is made of either cloth of gold, or of white slik wrought in gold. Thirdly, the Precious Mitre (Pretiosa), which is decorated with precious stones and often adorned with sheets of gold or silver. This is the mitre usually seen on effigies from the 14th to the middle of the 16th century. Attached to the hinder part of the mitre are two bands, or fillets, slightly widened at the ends and fringed, called Vittae or Infulae.

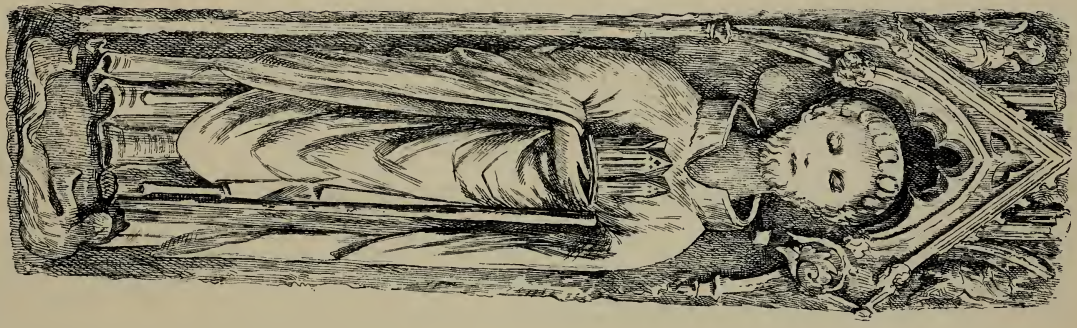
The earliest form of the mitre was that of a simple cap with the infulæ hanging down behind it. In the 12th century it was like a large cap with a depression in the middle, which produces the effect of two blunt horns: in the 13th century this depression became deeper, and the mitre higher, and it was put on in such a manner that the horns came before and behind the head; these horns were gradually raised, and made more pointed, till they produced the elegant form of mitre seen in the 14th century,

The *Pastoral Staff*, or baculus, is formed on the model of a shepherd's crook, and its use is of great antiquity. St. Isodore, of Seville, at the end of the 6th century writes as follows:—"On the bishop is bestowed a staff at the time of his consecration, that he may, as this sign suggests, both govern and rebuke the people committed to his charge, and support the infirmities of such as are weak.[1] In depriving an ecclesiastic, we are told that the bishop took off the offender's vestments with the pointed end of his staff.[2]

The Pastoral Staff is still retained by the Church of England as one of the pontifical ornaments.[3]

The Crozier is the term for the cross mounted on a staff, which is used by the archbishops and patriarchs instead of the pastoral staff. Its use is very ancient, for it was borne before St. Anselm. Round the staff of both these is wrapped a flag, or pennon, which is attached to the upper part by a cord: it is called

[1] De Officiis Ecclesiasticis. [2] Haines' brasses, p. lxxii.
[3] Rubric in 1st prayer book of Edward VI.



EFFIGY OF ABBOT FOLIOT.
Gloucester Cathedral.

Scale 1 In. to 1 foot.

LAVARS LITH BROAD ST BRISTOL

vexillum, or *sudarium*. It is said to be so placed that it may protect the staff from injury to the metal from contact with a moist hand—or to preserve the glove; but its origin is doubtful.

The *Pallium, or Pall*, is exclusively an archiepiscopal vestment, and was not left behind for transmission to a successor, but each new archbishop had to ask the Pope to grant the favour: and it was always buried with the wearer. When worn this vestment had the form of the letter Y, and was charged with *four crosses, pattée fitchée*,[1] There is one other ornament, which is occasionally seen on early monuments, which must be described; this is the *Pectoral*, or Rationale, which was worn by prelates over the chasuble at mass, and is a square plate of gold or silver, either jewelled or enamelled, and is sometimes seen on monumental effigies earlier than the 14th century: since which time it seems to have gone out of use.

The cathedral at Gloucester was originally the church of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, and it contains the monuments of four of its abbots. The earliest of these is probably the effigy of Henry Foliot A.D. 1243, in whose time the abbey was re-dedicated. (*Pl. I.*) This effigy is now lying upon a bracket on the south side of the Presbytery, where it is said to have been placed at the time of the alterations by Abbot Parker. Two weeping monks are at the feet, and two angels at the corners of a triple canopy over the head. The effigy is bareheaded, the hair is in stiff rolls, the face bearded, and the ears represented as very large and prominent, as was usual at that date. The vestments are those of a priest, for St. Peter's had not yet become a mitred abbey, and the pastoral staff broken at the head lies on the left arm; it is without sudarium. The vestments are all plain, but the chasuble, which is long and ample, bears traces of having been coloured pale blue. The stole is remarkably narrow, not one-third of the width of the maniple. In the right hand, and resting on the breast, is the representation of a church. Leland ascribes this monument to Serlo, who was abbot in 1072, and who built some of the Norman portions of the

[1] Its form can still be seen on the armorial bearings of the See of Canterbury.

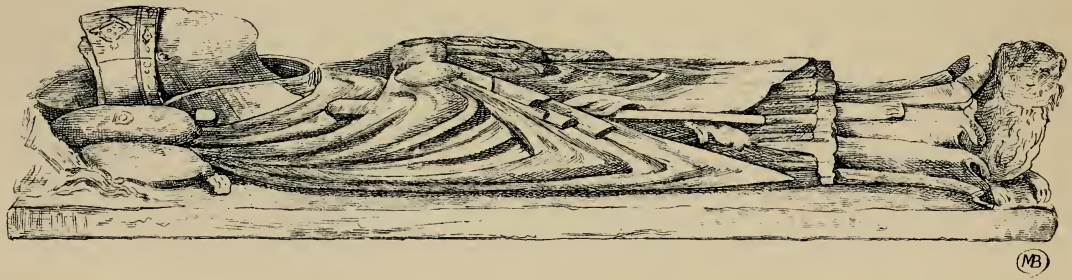
abbey church; but if it was placed to his memory, it was executed many years later.

In the crypt is a coffin lid ornamented at the upper end with a trefoiled arch, on the right side of which rests the head of a pastoral staff. There are traces of the figure of an abbot on the slab, but it has been cut away to a flat surface, and the stone with its face downwards had been used in the flooring of the north transept. At the south entrance to the ambulatory is the chapel, and alabaster effigy of Abbot Seabrook, who died in 1457. The tower of the edifice was begun by him, and several other portions of the church are his work. His effigy represents him as a prelate, for St. Peter's was now a mitred abbey, and he had a right to be so represented.[1] On his head he wears the mitra pretiosa, and in his right hand he carries his pastoral staff; the head of which is gone, the lower part is enveloped in the sudarium. The vestments are all plain, but probably they were originally coloured. The stole and maniple have deep fringe: the tunic and dalmatic, plain, the latter showing the opening at the side, the alb very long, almost covering the feet; the amice showing the strings by which it was tied, and the chasuble very long, and ample; the hands are broken off. The episcopal sandals are plain, and very pointed, and the feet rest on a lion. [2] (*Pl. II.*)

In a chapel on the north side of the choir is the exquisitely carved alabaster cenotaph which Abbot Parker prepared as his last resting place; but in which his body probably never lay: for before his death in 1539 the dissolution of St. Peter's had taken place, and Parker, its last abbot had gone forth to end his days in obscurity. His effigy lies on a high tomb with three panels on each side; the first and third have escutcheons with emblems of the passion; the middle one bears the arms of the abbot, *a buck trippant between three pheons within a bordure engrailed.* The effigy is vested in full pontificals, the head wears the precious mitre, and a pastoral staff, enveloped in the sudarium lies on the

[1] The first mitred abbot was Walter Froucester, c. 1381.

[2] When this tomb was opened in 1741, a pastoral staff was found, which is now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne. It is 4 feet 11 inches long and made of close grained wood.



EFFIGY OF ABBOT SEABROKE, 1450 – 1457.
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Scale 1in. to 1 foot.

LAVARS, LITH. BROAD St BRISTOL

right arm. The alb is plain with large sleeves, and the maniple hangs loosely far back on the arm, the amice is plain, but appears as if stiff from the embroidery upon it, the tunic and dalmatic have been painted with red and gold orphreys and fringe, and the chasuble has been coloured red ; sandals, with embroidery and jewels, are on the feet, which rest on a buck, the abbot's badge. On the wall at the head of the monument is his shield of arms. surmounted by a mitre.

In a chapel on the north side of the Lady Chapel lies the recumbent figure of Godfrey Goldsborough, the sixth Bishop of Gloucester. He died in 1604, and little more than sixty years had passed away since the death of its last abbot ; but in that short time the graceful vestments, which had been worn by the prelates of the Church for nearly a thousand years had all been swept away, and Her bishops were now arrayed in the inelegant garments, which since the Reformation have been their usual official dress. The effigy is shewn as wearing a white rochet, black chimere, with lawn sleeves, scarf or tippet, ruff, and black scull cap.

The chapel of the Hospital of St. Mark at Billeswick (now called the Mayor's Chapel,) which was originally the chapel of Dominican Friars called Les bons Hommes, who were brought over into England by Richard, Earl of Cornwall in the reign of Hen. III. contains the finely sculptured effigy of Miles Salley, Bishop of Llandaff, and previously Abbot of Eynsham, who is represented in the usual pontifical vestments with precious mitre, plain tunic, dalmatic, and chasuble : the stole is not visible, and the maniple is but faintly indicated amongst the folds of the chasuble and sleeves of the dalmatic and alb, the amice is plain, and falls like a collar on the chasuble, jewelled gloves, feet in sandals and resting on a dog, the face closely shaven ; in his left arm is the pastoral staff veiled with the sudarium. Bishop Salley died in 1516, and is said to have re-constructed the east end of the chapel with its fine windows, and late perpendicular niches, and tabernacle work below. He also, without doubt, erected the delicately carved canopies under which rest his effigy, and those of the Berkeleys

near him. In Bristol Cathedral there are three effigies of former abbots of the Augustinian House, of which the cathedral was originally the church. The earliest is to the memory of Abbot Knowle, whose rule extended from 1306 to 1332. The beautiful eastern portion of the cathedral was entirely remodelled by him, and some of the Decorated portions are his work. His

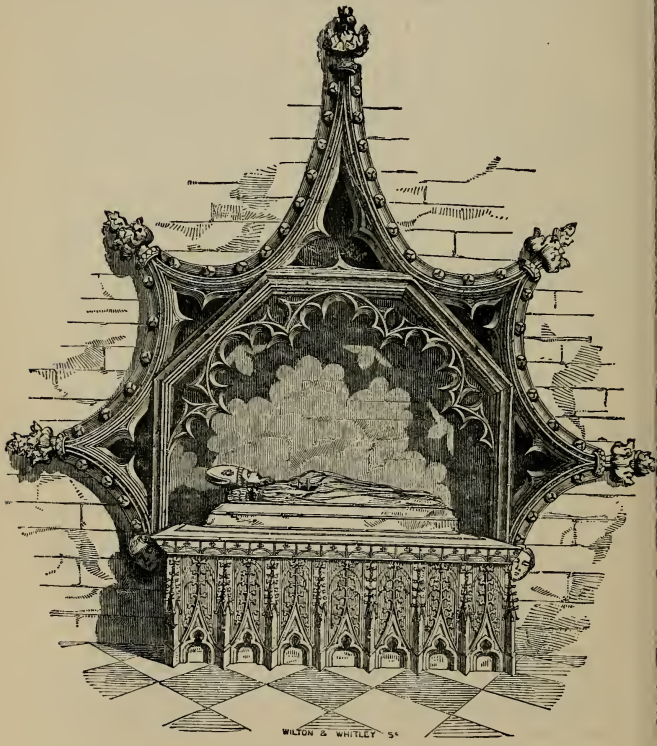


Fig 4.

effigy lies under an ornate Berkeley-arched recess on the north side of the choir, near the high altar, and is vested in full pontificals,

as a mitred abbot. He wears the precious mitre, and carries his pastoral staff on his right arm ; the head of this staff is very beautiful, the crook is turned outwards,[1] and its weight appears resting on an angel which is near the abbot's head : the vestments are all plain, except the tunic, which shows under the dalmatic, and appears to be embroidered with a twisted scroll pattern : the maniple is wide and plain, and the stole is not visible ; the feet which are broken, rest on a dog, the hands crossed, on his breast, covered with jewelled gloves, without rings *(Fig. 4.)*

Walter Newberry, who was abbot in 1463, is supposed to be commemorated by the effigy which lies under a similar arch in the same wall as Abbot Knowle. His vestments are almost identical in pattern with those of the latter, except that his tunic is plain. Over his jewelled glove he wears a ring on the third finger of his right hand ; the top of his pastoral staff is gone ; his feet in sandals, rest on a dog, and there are angels at his head.

Abbot Newland or Nailheart, lies on the opposite side of the choir under a similar arch. He was the 21st abbot, and ruled the monastery from 1481 to 1515. He was called the good abbot, as his time was wholly given to religion and alms deeds. The great central tower of the abbey was remodelled during his rule, and he re-constructed the roof of the north transept.[2] His vestments are similar to those of the other abbots, but upon his jewelled

[1] It has been stated as distinguishing the Pastoral Staff of a Bishop from that of an Abbot, that the crook of the former is turned outward, or from him, as indicating his jurisdiction over a diocese, whilst that of the latter is turned inwards to signify that his authority is confined within his House. Facts, however, will not support this ingenious theory, for among the numerous monuments which remain to us, both in the effigies on their tombs and the seals to their charters and other instruments, we find, as in the case brought under our notice by Mrs. Oakeley, Abbots, and even Abbesses, holding their staves with the crook away from themselves ; whilst in many instances Bishops are found holding theirs with the crooks inwards. It is therefore evident there never was any rule upon this subject.

A similar theory existed, without any greater authority, at least in England, with respect to the *Sudarium* on the Staff, that its presence distinguished the Staff as that of an Abbot and not of Bishop. We have seen *ante* p. 59, that the staff of Abbot Foliot is without a *sudarium*. It is clear that the *sudarium* was not significant of any degree or status, but was used simply for the purposes mentioned in the text.—Ed.

[2] See King, *ante* Vol. III. p. 105

glove he wears on his left hand rings on the third and first fingers. Angels are at his head and feet, and resting on the latter is a shield upon which is carved the rebus on his name, *three nails piercing a heart, gutée de sang* (*Fig. 5.*)

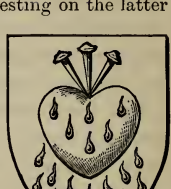


Fig. 5

In the north transept of the cathedral is the singular effigy of Bishop Paul Bush, first Bishop of Bristol, who was appointed in 1552. He was chaplain to Henry VIII., and before the dissolution was prior of the Monastery of Bons Hommes,[1] at Edyngdon, Edyngton, in Wiltshire. Upon the death of Edward VI., Queen Mary issued a fiat to deprive him of the See, as he had violated his vow of celebacy;[2] but he anticipated this, and retired into private life in 1553. He died in 1558, and his effigy represents him as an attenuated corpse lying in the tomb: his head rests upon an episcopal mitre, which is almost flattened by the weight, and on his right side lies his pastoral staff. A large slab supported by columns shades his effigy, and there are coats of arms at the top of each with an inscription round the slab.

Another of these eccentric monuments is at Westbury-on-Trym near Bristol. It was erected over the grave of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, and Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, who died in 1476, and whose emaciated corpse is represented as lying in its grave on the north side of the chancel; the only memorial of his former honour and dignity being his pastoral staff, which lies by his left side. Bishop Carpenter was a native of Westbury, and appears to have been much attached to the place, for though he died at his episcopal residence at Worcester, he directed that his body should be interred at Westbury. He was one of the great church-builders of the 15th century; and part of St. Mary's, Oxford, which was the work of that time, is said to have been designed by him. He re-built the Benedictine Monastery at

[1] There were only three of these Houses in England: the one, of which St. Mark's, or the Mayor's Chapel, at Bristol was the church, another at Axbridge, in Buckinghamshire, and the third at Edington in Wiltshire.

[2] His wife was buried near him with this inscription, "of your charitie pray for the soul of Edith Bush otherwise Ashley who deceased 8 Oct. 1553."

Westbury, and persuaded his friend William Canynges to be its first Dean, and no doubt his great skill and experience aided Canynges when he was engaged on his magnificent work at Redcliffe Church. His tomb has been restored by Oriel College, Oxford.

A similar kind of effigy lies on a tomb in the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury. It is known as the "Skeleton Monk," and is said to be a memorial of the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, but the work is of far earlier date; and the wasted form on the tomb is not in the least applicable as a monument of one, who amidst the ruins of the Reformation took such excellent good care of himself, as did Abbot Wakeman, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury.[1]

Monumental effigies of priests are usually represented in their Eucharistic vestments, viz.: the amice, alb, girdle, stole, maniple, and chasuble, and of the latter there are two varieties, the one long and ample, evidently intended to represent some soft material, and falling in graceful folds, without ornament of any kind, and with this is worn the plain soft amice, and a long and perfectly plain alb; the other kind of chasuble is shorter, made of some stiff material, and ornamented either with a pallium-shaped orphrey,[2] or embroidered in some other way. This is usually accompanied by a stiff embroidered amice, and an alb made shorter and less full than the other, and with apparels in front at the bottom of the skirt. The cause of this difference in the vestments is not satisfactorily explained; possibly the uses of different religious orders may have had something to do with it, as the Cistercian Abbot, Stephen Harding, in A.D. 1114, forbade chasubles in his church to be made of anything but fustian and plain linen;[3] and this was no doubt followed as the Cistercian Use, till a late period, when the austerity of their rule was somewhat relaxed.

[1] Notes on the Tombs in Tewkesbury Abbey by Rev. W. S. Symonds, Transactions of B. & G. A. S., Vol II., page 209.

[2] Pliny says that the Phrygians invented embroidery, hence an embroiderer was called in Latin "Phrygio, and the needle work "Phrygium." When the design was wrought in gold it was called "auriphrygium," whence comes in English our word "Orphrey." Dr. Rock "in Textile fabrics," p. 79.

[3] Dr. Rock in "Textile fabrics." page 73.

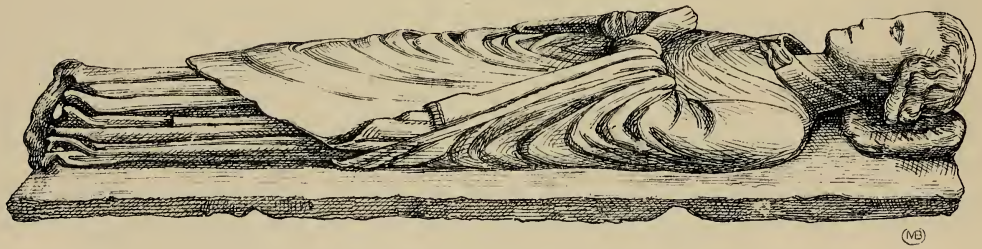
Good examples of both these sets of vestments are to be seen in the two figures in Newland Church, where they lie side by side on temporary bases, to which they were removed at the "restoration" of the church. One is a beautifully executed figure of early 14th century work (*Pl. III.*) It is evidently intended to represent a young priest; and his vestments are of the plain and flowing kind, with a remarkably narrow stole, and very long alb. His hair is long, and wavy, with a small tonsure and shaven face. The other shews an effigy of later date, and of much inferior workmanship. (*Pl. IV.*) It has the ornamented amice and alb, and a stiff chasuble with a pallium-shaped Orphrey. The hair is short, with small tonsure and shaven face, and the feet are in the boots of a monk.[1]

At English Bicknor there is an effigy of an ecclesiastic in the plain vestments, but without either stole or maniple. It is of inferior workmanship, and the head appears to have been restored by a common workman, as the eyes and mouth are represented by mere slits, and the whole head is of a different workmanship from the rest of the figure.

At Notgrove there is a high tomb in the churchyard, the panelled sides of which are ornamented with quartrefoils, inclosing Tudor roses, and lozenges alternately. Reclining on this tomb is the effigy of a priest in eucharistic vestments, but the stole is not visible.[2] By the side of this tomb is one which is popularly ascribed to Dick Whittington, but it is evidently a priestly figure in chasuble, &c., though too much damaged by exposure to the weather to describe more particularly. At Leckhampton, near Cheltenham, there is a fine recumbent effigy of a priest now lying in the churchyard (*Plate V.*), but the details of his vesture are fast disappearing from the effects of weather, and the drip of the trees under which the monument has unfortunately been placed. The effigy appears to be of later date than the others; the chasuble is longer and more ample, and is rounded in front, the amice is

[1] The monk wore boots, the canon shoes, and the friar sandals.

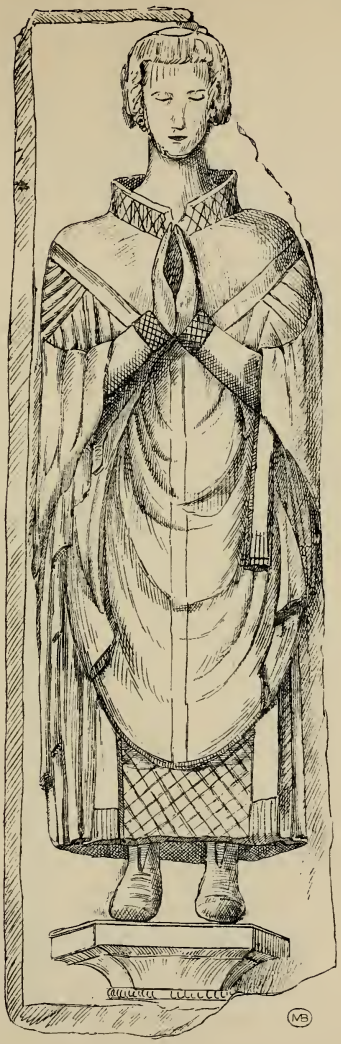
[2] This tomb is fully described by the Rev. W. Bazeley in the Transactions of the Society, Vol. VII., p. 33.



PRIEST IN EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS.
NEWLAND CHURCH, GLOS

Scale, 1in to 1foot.

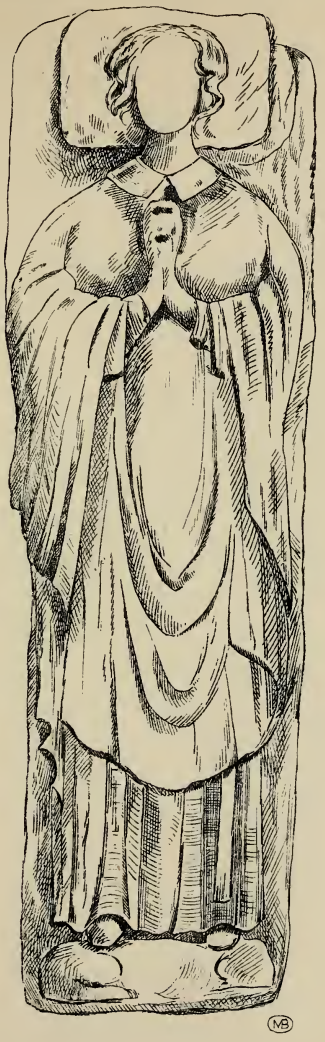
LAVARS, LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL



PRIEST IN EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS.
NEWLAND CHURCH, GLOS.

Scale, lin to 1foot.

LAVARS. LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL.



PRIEST IN EUCHARISTIC VESTMENTS
LECKHAMPTON CHURCHYARD

Scale 1in to 1foot

LAVARS, LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL.

represented as a *collar* falling upon it without any strings showing, and the sleeves of the alb are loose, all of which changes show it to have been executed late in the 15th or in the 16th century. There is no maniple, and only one end of the stole is visible, making it appear as if worn by a deacon, which is no doubt the omission of a careless workman. In the hands is a chalice, and probably a wafer, but the stone is too much decayed to speak decidedly of this part of the figure. In Cirencester Church there are two mutilated priestly effigies, both are wearing the eucharistic vestments.

There are but few examples of sculptured effigies in the canonical or processional habits of ecclesiastics, and it is somewhat singular that while brasses usually represent them in these habiliaments, their sculptured effigies are almost always in the eucharistic vestments. The choral, or processional vesture of canons and rectors, consisted of the surplice, almuce, and cope.

The *Surplice* or *Superpelliceum* [1] is a loose flowing garment with long ample sleeves, and usually nearly reaching to the feet, and it is referred to by Stephanus, Bishop of Tournay, in A.D. 1192, as a vesture, which had been long in use. It is very similar to the garment, which by the traditions of the Eastern Church was assigned as a sacred vestment to the apostles. In the Advertisements of 1564 it is ordered that every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the church shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves; and it is still retained by the Church of England in her ministrations whether in church or elsewhere.[2]

The Almuce, or Almutium, is often confounded with the amice, but it is entirely different from it, and is a large fur cape, which

[1] Super *upon or over*, pellis *a skin*, from the custom which anciently prevailed of wearing this vestment over a tunic made of the skins of such animals as the country afforded.

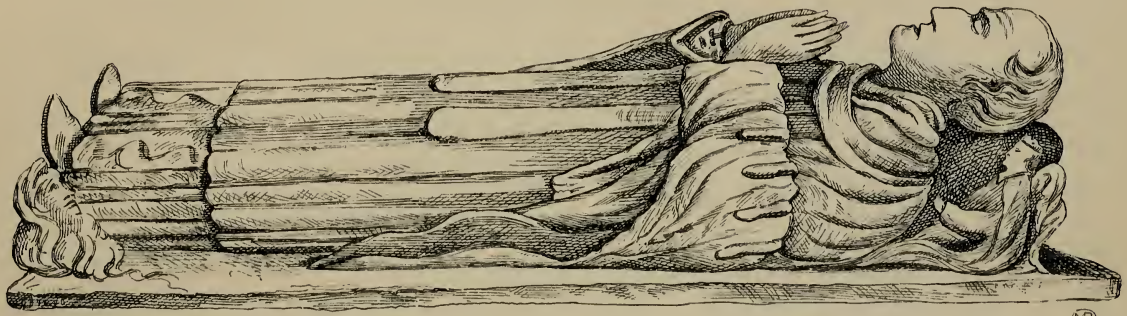
[2] The surplice is simply an adaptation of the alb to allow of its being worn over the fur-lined raiment, which, in the cold climate of England, was permitted to be worn by the Minor Clerks in the performance of their ministerial duties, and being worn over the clerk's furred gown, it was called the *superpelliceum*, shortened in English to surplice. The large full surplice of the English Church flowing to the feet is a very dignified vesture.—Ed.

covers the shoulders and breast, reaches as far as the elbows, and has two long "tippets" of fur hanging in front. These "tippets" look like a stole, but they differ from it inasmuch as they are the same width all the way down, and have rounded terminations. The tails of the animals of which the cape is made are sewn round it, making a kind of fringe. This garment was originally worn over the surplice by canons and rectors during the recitations of the sacred offices instead of the academical hoods, as a protection against cold; and in a few monuments it is represented drawn over the head as if for this purpose. A canon wore a white ermine almuce, a rector one made of the fur of the grey squirrel, and a bishop, when a peer of parliament, had a spotted almuce.

The Cope, or Cappa Pluvialis, was a large cloak-like vestment with a hood, worn in processions, &c., and was fastened over the breast by a morse. Originally it was intended as a protection against cold and wet, and probably owes its origin to the Roman pluviale, or rain cloak, the name of which it still retains. In shape it much resembled the pænula, but was open in front, and like it had a hood to protect the head of the wearer in bad weather. Its appropriation as an ecclesiastical vestment may probably be traced to the early days of Christianity, when in solemn processions on foot, or in services in the open air, the early christian ministers were exposed to the inclemency of the weather; but as time went on, and the cope was no longer needed for this purpose, its shape was slightly altered, and it was made an exact semi-circle with an orphrey on the straight side, and the only trace of the hood was an enlargement of this orphrey at the back of the cope.

By the ancient English Use a cope was ordered to be worn by priests at solemn vespers, and by all the assistant ministers on great feasts, and in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., the celebrant at the Holy Communion was ordered to wear a vestment or cope.[1] This cope was one of the few ornaments which were retained at the Reformation, and it seems to have been generally

[1] For the priest that shall execute the holy ministry, the vestment appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope. Rubric in Prayer Book of 1549.



EFFIGY OF WILLIAM CANYNGE, DEAN OF WESTBURY,
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL.

Scale, 1in to 1foot.

LAVARS, LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL

worn, as the rubric directs, in cathedrals and large parish churches for many years after. It is still used in some of our cathedrals, and is always worn at the coronation of our Sovereigns. The two small effigies at Bitton Church are interesting examples of canons in their copes, which are worn over the surplice and almuce. On *Fig. 6.* the hoods of both the cope and almuce are visible, the latter is lying on the pillow which supports the head of the effigy, and the former looks like a large flat collar from the neck to the shoulders. Beneath the cope are seen the two ends of the almuce lying on the surplice, which is short enough to show the feet. On *Fig. 7* the hood of the almuce is worn over the head like a cowl, and the hood of the cope is lying loosely round the neck, the ends of the almuce are very wide, and the surplice is so long that it nearly covers the feet.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

In the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, is one of the finest examples of a monumental effigy of an ecclesiastic in the canonical dress, and it possesses the additional interest of being a likeness of William Canynges, one of Bristol's most distinguished citizens, who after serving his country and city for many years as a layman ended his days as Dean of Westbury, and is represented as such on his monument. William Canynges was born in 1401, and retired from the world in 1467; some years afterwards he became Dean of Westbury, and died in 1474. He is dressed in a surplice which is short enough to show the cassock under it, and wears above them the almuce: the latter is of ermine, and the narrow tails of the animals hang over the sleeve of the surplice, the hood of the almuce can be seen lying loosely round his neck (*Plate VI.*) The face is closely shaven, and the hair short with small tonsure. There is another monument of William

Canynges in the same church representing him in his civil dress as a merchant. There are very few sepulchral effigies of ecclesiastics habited simply in the cassock, or tunica talaris, which was the ordinary clerical dress, when not vested for the performance of Divine Service, and of very great antiquity: but at St. Mary Redcliffe there is one of more than usual interest, as it has the name of the person intended to be represented carved upon it. It is to the memory of John Lavyngton, who was vicar of this church in 1393. He is dressed in a full cassock, which is fastened by buttons at the throat and wrists, and is confined round the waist by a belt, the buckle of which is distinctly visible. His hair is cut short in front, tonsure small, face closely shaven. He wears shoes as a secular priest. (*see Plate VII.*)

It is rare to meet with monumental effigies of deacons or the minor orders of the church.[1] There is at Tewkesbury Abbey a mutilated figure, now built into the north wall of the building used as a vestry, and this appears to be wearing a surplice, and holds a book in the hands. It probably represents a lector or reader, but it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty of this effigy as both the upper and lower parts of the figure are gone.

There was a time when the damage to these old monuments was done wilfully, and no doubt many were altogether destroyed; but since those days the mischief has been slowly but surely going on through exposure to weather and neglect, and unless care be speedily taken of them some will soon be utterly lost, which would be a matter for great regret, because these monuments have an interest of their own, in addition to that they derive from the vestments or habits in which they are represented. The effigies of the priests and deacons in our country churches and churchyard are the last, and often the only record we have of the good men, who ministered in those churches, and through whose instrumentality the simple folk of this country were instructed in the Catholic Faith ; while the effigies of the abbots and bishops in our

[1] These were the sub-deacon, acolyte, exorist, lector, or reader, and door-keeper.

IN THE CHURCH OF ST MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL.

VICAR IN 1393.

Scale 1 In. to 1 Foot.

LAVARS, LITH. BROAD ST BRISTOL

cathedrals are the representations not only of some of the great church teachers and statesmen, but also of some of the great church builders of the middle ages, who reared those magnificent churches, which are the delight and glory of the churchmen, and archæologists of the present day.

NOTES ON THE PARISH, THE CHURCH, AND THE ANCIENT RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF LEDENEIA PARVA, OR S. BRIAVELS.

BY THE REVD. WILLIAM TAPRELL ALLEN, M.A., *Vicar*.

THE early history of the Forest of Dean, of which the parish of S. Briavels once formed a portion, is so obscure that it is difficult to determine what was its ecclesiastical condition at the time of the Conquest. As regards S. Briavels,[1] then called Ledene Parva, there is reason to believe that a resident population existed there from very early times. This belief rests upon the fact of many ancient "scowles," or disused iron pits, being found in different parts of the parish, and the great quantity of iron cinders, evidently of Roman times, which remain, not only in the village, but in the outskirts, and in the hamlet of Brockweir. Beds of these cinders may be discovered at a little depth from the surface of the ground, and the soil in many parts, especially on Cinderhill, is abundantly mixed with charcoal, so much so as to change entirely its natural aspect. These evidences of early population naturally lead us to suppose that some provision may have been made for the religious wants of the people prior to the Conquest. Still it is impossible, with our present imperfect knowledge, to decide whether a Saxon or British church ever existed in the village proper. The Forest of Dean, under its British name of the Cantref-Coch, or Red District, was, we presume, included in the

[1] Into the ingenious arguments of the Rev. John James (see Vol. VIII., p. 342) respecting the derivation of this name, it is not here convenient to enter at any length. That S. Ebrulfus and S. Briavellus were one and the same, it is not easy to concede. There is no evidence that the church, or tithes, or any religious foundation in S. Briavels was ever connected with the Abbey of S. Evroult. Nor can we suppose that S. Ebrulfus of 1087 became S. Briavellus in 1131. Undoubtedly by interchange or transposition of letters you may make words appear to be very different from what they are, and cause them apparently to support a favourite theory.

Diocese of Llandaff, prior to its being made a portion of that of Hereford, and may have constituted a part of the ancient Kingdom of Gwent or Glamorgan—although in later days it was included in the great Mercian Kingdom. The remains of Offa's Dyke (locally known as "the Devil's Rudge"), which pass from the Causeway Wood, near Madget, the ancient Modes-gat, towards Brockweir, and which have been traced thence across the Hudnalls, and downwards through the Tufts Woods by Lindors Farm, St. Margaret's Grove, and the Slip Wood, as far as Hillbury Camp, shew that the whole of the lands now included in S. Briavels,[1] were, with the exception of those lying near the Wye, within the domain of the Mercian King. The only religious foundation which existed at this early date appears to have been the Hermitage or cell of S. Briavel in the hamlet of Stowe. This was founded about the middle of the 7th century, or about 100 years before Offa's Dyke was formed. There was also the chapel of S. Margaret, at Mork, but by whom founded and at what date it is not possible to say. This chapel and that of S. Briavel, appear, however, to have been regarded as royal foundations,[2] for that of S. Margaret is returned as belonging to the King, his Queen, and the Prince of Wales, in the time of the Commonwealth.

Leaving the period before the Conquest as presenting no sufficient evidence on the religious provision for S. Briavels, we must pass to what appears surer ground. For all civil purposes S. Briavels was probably independent of Lydney from an early date; but there appears not much doubt that from the conquest it was ecclesiastically attached to Lydney, and on the following grounds:—William the Conqueror granted to William Fitz Osbern certain lands in Lydney and probably lands in Lydney Parva (S. Briavels). The advowson, with the tithes of Lydney and Lydney Parva, was given by Fitz Osbern to the Abbey of Lire, in Normandy, which he had founded in 1046. The lands held by Wm. Fitz Osbern were escheated in 1074,[3] on the rebellion of his son

[1] See *ante* Vol. VI., p. 23 et seq.

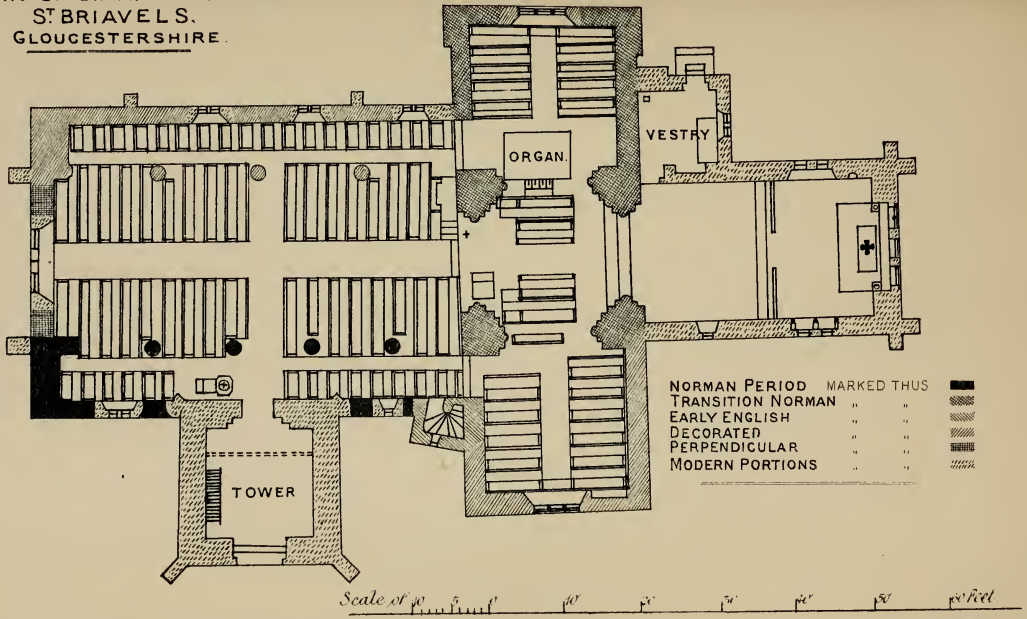
[2] It does not follow that they were Royal Foundations, they may have been escheats.—Ed.

[3] Trans. of Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Soc., Vol. V., Part I., p. 97.

Roger, and at the Domesday survey were held by William Fitz Baderon. It is possible that by him a portion of the tithes of S. Briavels was given to the Abbey of S. Florent in Saumur. Whether a church was first built at S. Briavels by the Abbot of Lire, or whether an already existing church or chapel was enlarged, cannot now be determined. The oldest portion of the existing church to which a date can be assigned is the south arcade, of five bays, which is of early Norman work of about A.D. 1089 (*Pl. VIII*). It is a question whether an earlier north aisle did not exist, the present north arcade being early Decorated. That some building stood on the north side of the present north aisle is shewn by the recent discovery of the foundations of a wall running parallel with the present north aisle at a distance of 9 ft. 6 ins. from the outer wall. It is not improbable that the church consisted of a nave and aisles with an apse or a small chancel. There is no evidence of any religious house in connection with Lire Abbey existing at S. Briavels, yet the form and size of the church lead to the conjecture that such may have been the case. Disputes appear to have arisen between the Abbey of Lire and the monks of Saumur—and these were finally settled before R———,[1] Bishop of Worcester, circa 1163, when it was declared that the monks of Saumur were entitled to two sheaves of the tithes of the Lordship of Little Lydney (S. Briavels) and that the remainder went to the Abbey of Lire. The settlement of this dispute appears to have led to an enlargement of the church, a choir, transepts, and a long chancel being added to it: and the church was re-consecrated after this enlargement, circa 1166, by the then Bishop of Worcester, who was probably administering the See of Hereford. Undoubtedly the church did not remain without further alterations, especially as regards the windows—a fine Perpendicular window of five lights having been placed at the west end of the nave probably in the 15th century—early Decorated windows of 13th century work being erected in the transepts, as well as an Early-English eastern window and piscina in the

[1] This must have been Roger Fitz Robert, who was Bishop of Worcester, from 1163 to 1180.

PLAN OF S. MARY'S CHURCH
ST. BRIAVELS.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



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LAVAR LITH BROAD ST BRIAVELS

north transept.[1] These last changes may have taken place when the chantry, dedicated to the Virgin, was founded in the church. A founder's tomb of the 13th century was erected in the south wall of the south transept. This was built up some years since, but was re-opened and carefully restored during the recent renovation of the church. The present north arcade of the nave was probably built in the 13th century. It has four lofty pointed arches resting on octagonal pillars with moulded caps.[2] The staircase, leading to the rood-loft, is in the south aisle, and of Early-English work. The jambs of the doorway above have been recently exposed by the removal of the plaster. The size of the church is as follows:—

	FT.	INS.
Length of nave - - - -	52	4
Width with aisles - - - -	35	8
Length of choir - - - -	19	4
Length of transepts, from north to south -	60	6
Width of ditto, across the choir - -	18	2
Length of present chancel - - -	37	5[3]
Width - - - - -	18	0
Total length -	109	1

[1] The small pointed arches leading from the transepts into the aisles are well worthy of notice from their excellent proportions. The string-course is continued over them as a label, and ends in a fanciful representation of a serpent's head. The aisles, which are very narrow, appear to have been intended for processional aisles, the nave being reserved for the worshippers. The choir arches, four in number, are especially fine and massive. The old chancel rose not more than one step above the choir, so that the proportions of the chancel arch were better preserved than they now are. The east window of the old chancel had interlacing tracery in the head. The north window of the chancel appears to have been of two lights with a quartrefoil in the head. There was a priest's door in the south wall.

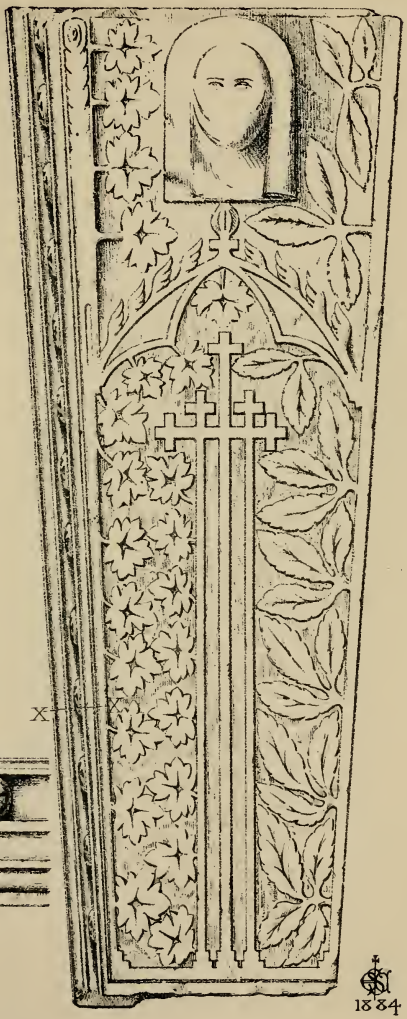
[2] These arches are of a later date than that between the aisle and the north transept. This leads to the conclusion that the present north arcade took the place of an earlier Norman one. The remains of a foundation wall running parallel with the outer wall of the north aisle seems to shew an intention of enlarging the north aisle, which was abandoned after the new arcade had been built.

[3] The old chancel was about 10 ft. longer.

The choir arches are of Transition Norman. It seems probable that a low tower was at first erected—and that this tower was raised at a later date, and Early-English louvres, battlements and pinnacles added. The windows of the old chancel were Early-English, and were probably inserted when the tower was raised. The church has suffered much by injudicious alterations. In consequence of a failure of the foundations the tower was taken down in 1830, and a new tower built where the south porch stood. In 1861 the fine west window of the nave was pulled out—the windows in the north aisle replaced by those now existing—the chancel was re-built—and the Early-English piscina in the north transept transferred to the new chancel as a oredence table (!). Unhappily the new work, being in French plate tracery, is out of harmony with the older parts of the building. One good thing, however, flowed from the alterations, namely, the re-opening of the clerestory windows and of the nave roof.

So ancient a church ought to have many interesting remains, but, alas! there are few in S. Briavels. The font, of plain Norman work, with a frill moulding round the base of the bowl, is worthy of notice. The monuments are few. One, a 14th century slab in forest stone, and bearing a triple cross with carvings of oak and laurel leaves, (*Pl. IX.*) must have once covered the resting place of some high ecclesiastic—perhaps an Abbot of Lire.[1] Little respect would seem to have been paid to his tomb, since a woman's head in freestone, covered with a wimple, appears to have been inserted within the same century. The only remaining relic of pre-Reformation days is an ancient altar frontal, probably for ferial use. Age has faded the original colour (green); but the colours of the ornamental wreathed work in floss silks are as bright and fresh as when the cloth was woven. The *debris* of a monument to William Warren and Mariana Catchmay, his wife, from whom the Jameses, of Soilwell, claim descent, lie scattered about the church. This monument, which was

[1] This slab, as it covered the remains of an ecclesiastic, must have stood with the feet to the west, and I conjecture that it was formerly placed over a raised tomb, or possibly in a recess at the south-east angle of the chancel, the edges of the stone being unworked at the head and on the left side.



Section XX.

1884

CHURCH OF ST. BRIAVELS.
COFFIN LID.

LAVARS, LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL

very costly, was erected in the chancel in 1573. Considering the important position which S. Briavels held in past time, it is somewhat surprising that the church has in it so few objects of interest in the shape of ancient tombs. But in old days S. Briavels was a lawless place, and it is to be feared that many old coffin slabs were carried away ruthlessly from the church and used in building. At the present time there is in the bar-parlour of a local inn a 12th century coffin-lid, with an incised cross, which has been used as a breast-stone in the chimney. There is a note at page 92, in Bishop Swinfield's Household Roll,[1] in which it says: "The church of S. Briavels and others witnessed sanguinary outrages in the Episcopate of Swinfield. Fugitives who sought refuge being not always safe." There appear to have been five bells originally in the church tower. These seem to have been re-cast in 1764 by W. Evans, of Chepstow, and the ring formed into six bells. Two bells were added after the re-building of the church tower in 1830. Unfortunately the churchwardens' accounts for 1764 cannot be found, so that no information respecting the re-casting of the bells can be had. The diameters and inscriptions are as follows:—

		FT.	IN.
1.	THIS BELL WAS CAST BY VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTION 1831. I. RUDHALL FECIT (2)	2	3
2.	THIS ADDITIONAL NEW BELL WAS GIVEN TO FORM A COMPLETE PEAL OF 8 BELLS IN 1831, BY LAURENCE, ELDEST SON OF HENRY PEEL ESQ OF AYLESMORE HOUSE, BY WHOSE ASSISTANCE AND THAT OF OTHERS THIS TOWER WAS BUILT IN 1830. "PRAISE GOD." I. RUDHALL FECIT	2	3½
3.	COME LET US RING FOR CHURCH AND KING	2	3½
4.	PROSPERITY TO OUR BENEFACTORS. W.E. 1764	2	5½
5.	PEACE AND GOOD NEIGHBOURHOOD 1764	2	7
6.	WILLIAM EVANS OF CHEPSTOW CAST US ALL 1764	2	9
7.	MR. WM. WORGAN, CHURCHWARDEN 1764	3	0½
8.	LET MY SOUND MOVE THEE TO GOD'S GLORY	3	4

The note of the tenor bell is G natural.

The clock was given by the Whittington Trustees in 1721.[3] The communion plate is quite modern, and consists of a cup and

[1] Camden Society, pub. 1854.

[2] There is also a small "Minister's Bell" inscribed "W. E. Newland, 1757."

[3] The Whittington Trust was first formed under the will of William Whittington of this parish, who died in 1625. The objects of this trust are the apprenticeship of poor lads of the parish; the annual gift of alms to 12 poor persons; 4 annual sermons in the church; and a small sum for the ornamentation of the church.

cover given by Mr. William Whittington in 1795, and a chalice and paten given by the Whittington Trustees in 1860. The whole is of silver.

S. Briavels remained a chapelry of Lydney from the time the advowson was given to the Abbey of Lire by William Fitz Osbern till the year 1859, when it was separated from Lydney and constituted a perpetual curacy, and in the following year it was made a vicarage and endowed with the vicarial rent-charge in lieu of tithes. It should, however, be mentioned that in 1649[1] S. Briavels was held as a distinct benefice by Richard Meredith[2]—but this appears to have been quite exceptional. The vicarage was first held by the Revd. Horatio Walmisley, M.A, Cambridge, who resigned in 1867, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Taprell Allen, M.A., Oxon, the present vicar.

The patronage of the Benefice of Lydney remained with the Abbots of the Lire until 1272. In that year Abbot Robert, who was a Canon Residentiary of Hereford Cathedral, died. The abbot and convent had granted[3] in some prior year the patronage to the Dean and Canons of that church with whom it now rests. The endowment consists of tithe rent-charge only, there being no ancient glebe. The house was purchased by the late incumbent. The tithes were commuted in 1840. The Rectorial rent-charge being fixed at £215 and the Vicarial at £229.[4] In the apportionment the lands in the Ecclesiastical Parish are said to be :—

	A.	R.	P.
Arable - - - -	1291	2	0
Meadow or pasture - - -	1399	0	0

[1] In the Cromwellian Survey of 1649, Vol. IX., p. 211, S. Briavels, or "Brevills" is returned as a vicarage presentative worth about £30. Hewelsfield was held by the Vicar of St. Briavels, and was estimated at £30 per annum, with forty families.

[2] Richard Meredith was never instituted. His name is not to be found in the Bishop's Register at Gloucester, which has been kindly searched for me by Mr. Bonnor.

[3] Harleian MSS., 6203, p. 72G. See in Appendix (A) an extract from a Kalendar of the Obits of several Benefactors to the Cathedral Church of Hereford, compiled temp. Edw. III.

[4] The Rectorial rent-charge, in lieu of tithes of corn and grain, is payable to the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, who are "Appropriate Rectors. The Vicarial rent-charge is in lieu of the tithes of hay and wood.

	A.	R.	P.
Woodland - - - -	443	0	0
Waste - - - - -	20	0	0
Total -	3153	2	0
To which must be added - -	158	2	0
Making a total of - -	3312	0	0

These 158 acres are not subject to any payment of tithe rent-charge to rectors or vicars—as 65 acres of woodland, called Rodmore Grove, belonged to the Priory of Llantony, Gloucester, and the remaining lands to the Abbey of Tintern. The civil parish contains, according to the Ordnance Survey of 1881, 4800 acres. It should be mentioned that a rent-charge of £4 is payable annually to Col. Rooke, of Bigsweir House, and a like sum of £4 to Mr. Jane.[1]

The Parish Registers date from 1660. The earlier registers have been lost, but Sir John Maclean found in the Bishop's Registry at Gloucester, transcripts dating back to 1618.

In 1549 the population was about 210. In 1649 there were 80 families, or a population of about 400. In 1700 the population was about the same, and there were then 20 freeholders. In 1780 the houses increased to 122 and the population to 766. In 1871 the population was 1315. In 1881 it was 1143. In 1694 the land tax was £239 6s. 8d., and in 1770 at 3s. in the £ it was £181 10s. 10d.

	£	s.	d.
In 1694 the poll tax[2] was - - -	32	4	0
In 1602 the royal aid was - - -	159	10	8

[1] In the Apportionment it is stated that all the tithes, both great and small, of 21a. 2r. 13p. of land called the Florence Horn and Grove, part of New Wear Grove, and part of Great Horn belong to George Rooke as owner therof. And that in like manner the tithes, both great and small, of 31a. 2r. 3p. belong to Warren Hurdman Jane.

[2] This assessment would seem to be erroneously described as a Poll Tax. There was no Poll Tax at this date. Act 7 and 8, Will. III., cap. 5, granted to the King an Aid of 4s. in the pound for one year, for carrying on the war against France, on all ready money, stock, goods, &c., except farming stock and household stuff. Manors and lands to pay at the same rate upon the annual value.—ED.

In 1719[1] the rateable value was - - - 1013 0 0
In 1876 it had risen to - - - - 6226 6 0

The rate of mortality from 1760 to 1767 was 1 in 72. The present rate of mortality averages about 1 per cent.

Having given these few statistics respecting the parish we may pass on to consider what ancient ecclesiastical foundations existed therein, either in connection with, or independent of, the parish church. A chantry dedicated to the Virgin Mary was founded in the church at an early date. The last incumbent was Richard Fletcher, who retired on a pension of £4.[2] In the Certificates of Colleges and Chantries, No. 37, certificate 23, it is stated that there is in "Saynt Brevells," which is said to contain 140 "houselinge people,"[3] that is, persons of an age to receive the Holy Communion, a chantry or service of the B.V.M., the clear value of which is said to be £6 3s. 9½d., the whole of which goes to the incumbent. The endowment consisted of the following lands and tenements :—

One tenement in Venys Street, called Cawse House rent 6d.
One meadow, near Whitepole, tenant Wm. Tyler - ,, 4d.
One small parcel of land lying near Mottons meadow ,, 10d.
One garden lying in Venys St., near the house of Wm. Tyler - - - - - - ,, 2d.
Certain lands called Gonston's Croft, tenant Robert Ryve - - - - - - ,, 12d.
Two parcels of land called Synderhill - - - ,, 12d.
One parcel of land called Holbrook, tenant s^d Robert ,, 12d.
One tenement lying in Venys S^t - - - ,, 1d.
One parcel of land lying at Pettye Mershe - - ,, 12d.
Two diets of land called 2 days earth, lying in the field there called Bifielde, tenant s^d Robt. - - ,, 8d.
One tenement of the said Robert lying in the upper part of the town of Saynt Brevells, and in the occupation of John Laurence - - - ,, 18d.

[1] In 1815 the annual value of real property was assessed at £2984.—ED.

[2] Rudder.

[3] See Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire, *ante* Vol. VIII. p. 229, where the number of houseling people is shewn to be 160, this would make the population of the Parish or Chapelry of St. Briavels at this date (1548) as about 240.—ED.

Certain lands lying near Coppins fields on the tenure of Wm Cornar - - - - -	rent	12d.	
One meadow adjoining the house of Margaret Chachemay and in her tenure - - - - -	„	6d.	
One parcel of land lying by Hollow mershe in the tenure of the said Margaret Chachemay -	„	0	1
Certain lands called Horsepools in the tenure of the said Margaret and of the heir of Matthew Whittington - - - - -	„	4d.	
One parcel of land lying at Mork in the tenure of the said Margaret - - - - -	„	3d.	
One tenement and garden lying in the upper part of the town of S. Briavels in the tenure of Juliana Hulin, widow - - - - -	„	19d.	
Certain lands called Whitewalls lying at Woodmill in the tenure of Edw. James - - -	„	6d.	
One tenement in free tenure of John Houghes -	„	6d.	
which sums together are annually - -		14	1½
at 20 years purchase - - - -		14 2	6
The farm of one pasture called Thre nocked field containing by estimation 8 acres lying near Leyeshill in the tenure of Wm Werell gen	rent	s. 13	d. 4
One pasture called Bearse coppe lying within the parish of Newland near the land of the heir of Geo Beinham, Knt., called Brode field in the tenure of Wm Tyler - - - - -	„	21	8
One meadow lying near Whitpole, same tenant -	„	4	0
Two parcels of land lying together called Gorston's croft in the tenure of Robt Fowler - -	„	6	4
One parcel of land lying at Petty mershe near the Gil-howse in the tenure of the said Robert -	„	1	6
Certain lands lying near Aylesmore adjoining Harthill Coate (? Court) in the tenure of the s^d Robt -	„	3	4
One grove[1] called Le Picke lying near Meggs copp			

[1] A grave, or greave, was an avenue cut out in a wood, hence an open space of pasture in a wood or forest. Fairfax speaks of the

"Wind in holts and shady greaves."

See Bardsley's Surnames, p. 94.

lane in the tenure Wm Werall - -	rent	1	0
One parcel of land lying near Dawes land in the tenure of Robt Ryve - - - -	„	0	8
One parcel of land called Cockshotte Hill in the tenure of the said Robt Ryve - - -	„	2	4
One tenement with one meadow lying near the Lower Church stile in the tenure of Jno Boughan -	„	8	9
One parcel of land lying near Long meade in the tenure of the same John - - -	„	4	4
One parcel of land called Walston in the tenure of John Whittington - - - -	„	9	0
One parcel of land lying near the aforesaid land called Waston in the tenure of the same -	„	2	8
One parcel of land called Pickottes Hill in the tenure of the same - - - -	„	4	4
One tenement and one meadow lying in the lower part of the town of St Briavell opposite the White cross [1] there in the tenure of Thos Dymocke - - - - -	„	8	6
One tenement with certain lands at Morke broke in the tenure of Philip Griffith - -	„	9	2
One garden lying opposite the White cross there in the tenure of John Lewes - - -	„		6
One parcel of land lying near Hollow Mersh in the tenure of Margaret Chachemay, widow - -	„	1	6

We doubt the author's explanation of the word "grave" as an open space of pasture, and do not think the quotation from Bardsley bears it out. The word "holt," according to Halliwell, signifies a small wood or plantation, and he cites Brockett as explaining the word as "a peaked hill covered with wood." Bailey has "Grava"=a small wood. And Halliwell for "Grefes"=Groves, copses. Citing:

> "For so raythely thay rusche with roselde speris
> That the raskaille was rade, and rane to the grefes."
> *Morte Arthure, MS. Lincoln, f. 83.*

The line quoted by the author would seem to us to agree very much better with the meanings here given than with an "open space of pasture."

Wind in *holts* (high woods or plantation) and shady *greaves* (groves or copses).—ED.

[1] There appears to have been three crosses in the parish, namely, the High Cross, near Colpage, the White Cross at Mork, and the White Cross at S. Briavels.

One parcel of land called Quarrell feild lying near Harthill in the tenure of David Pendry -	rent	7	0
One parcel of land lying near Colpage in the same tenure - - - - - - -	„	2	4
One tenement with garden lying near the High Cross there in the tenure of the Incumbent -	„	5	0
One small grave lying near Picking trees Grove -	„		12
One other small grave near Colwell Lane - -	„		8
The total annual rental was 119s. 10d., which, at 22 years purchase, was valued at - - -	£131	16	4
From the gross value which was £6 13s. 11½d., the following deductions had to be made :—			
Rents paid to the heir of Geo. Beinham, Knt., issuing out of a parcel of land called Bears-coppe in the tenure of Wm Tyler - - - -		3	4
Rents paid to the same heir out of a tenement in the occupation of Jno Bougham pr. an - -			9
Rents paid to the same heir issuing out of a parcel of land lying near Colpage in the tenure of David Pendry p an. - - - - -			4
Rents paid to the same heir out of land lying near Longmeade in the tenure of Jno Boughan -		1	3
Rents paid to the same heir issuing out of tenements and a meadow in the tenure of Thos Dymoke -		2	0
Rent paid to Richard Brayne Esq issuing out of the same tenement & meadow - - -		2	0
Rents paid to our Lord the King out of a tenement and garden in the occupation of the Incumbent pr an - - - - - -		9	8
At 20 years rate - - - 9 13 4			
And remains clear - - 6 4 3½			
Total of money - -	145	18	10
Reprises - - - - 9 13 4			
And remains - -	136	5	6

"Memorandum, that the premises were given by divers persons to certain feoffees in fee simple who committed the issues and

profitts coming of the same to the finding and maintaining of a priest to celebrate in the said Parish Church and to teach and bring up children in vertue and learning which have been employed and bestowed to that use until Easter last past."[1]

"The lead, bells and advowsons" were "to be excepted." The lands of the chantry were granted[2] 3rd Edw. VI., April 10th to Thomas Mershe and Roger Williams from the Mich's last past to hold the same as of the King's Manor of Preston in Somerset in free soccage" and not *in capite*.[3]

"The Kings Minister accounts for one messuage with meadow in S. Briavel called Hardwyche, given to the same Parish by Stephen Hoskyns, deceased, for the observance of one obit annually."

As regards this sum of six shillings, it appears that two shillings, were "bestowed yerely on the same obitt," and four shillings were "distributed to the relieff of the poore yerely."[4]

A lamp in the church, to burn probably before the high altar, was supported by the rent of seven acres of land in Aylburton, late in the tenure of Edward Bourne, value 6s. per annum. Granted 24th August, 3rd Edward VI., to Wm Saule and Wm Bridge.

There were, however, other foundations which appear to have been independent of the parish church. These have been already alluded to, but it will be well to enter more into detail respecting them. In a meadow at Mork, called the Chapel meadow, once stood the Chapel of S. Margaret. When or by whom founded is unknown. It was probably a timber structure rising from

[1] At the foot of this memorandum is written: "Examined by me Humphrey Ulton, Deputy of the particular survey there." A further memorandum, dated 24th Dec., 2nd Edw. VI., and signed in the margin "Thomas Throgmorton, servant of our Lord Protector, and at the foot by "Humphrey Molsley," mentions the Chantry of Slymbridge, in the Parish of Slymbridge, the chantries called Bray's Chantry and Slymbridge Chantry, in Thornbury, and for the service of our Lady in S. Briavels." After the name of "Humfrey Molsley" is this statement: "Passed in the names of Thomas Marshe and Roger Wills as parcel of the some £903 2s. 11½d."

[2] Minister's Accounts, 2nd and 3rd Edw. VI., co. Glouc.

[3] Ibid. [4] Certificates of Chantries, &c., No. 110.

stone foundations, with a small dwelling attached. Stowe Hall is supposed to be the site of an ancient cell of S. Margaret, and her name has survived in Meg's lane—Meg's copse, &c. The endowment of the chapel seems to have consisted of the adjoining grove called S. Margaret's and the upper and lower chapel meadows—about 24 acres altogether. In the Close Roll of 4th Henry III., 1220, occurs the following entry, which appears to refer to this chapel or hermitage :—

"Henry the King to the Bishop of Hereford greeting. Since by the permission and concession of our predecessors Kings of England a certain Hermitage beyond the town of S. Briavel hath been possessed and held during all his time by Master Philip of S. Briavels to whom God be propitious, and he hath ministered there, nor have we at hand a man whom we wish to prefer to the said Hermitage We Will that Master Ralph who used to assist the said Master Philip there, continue to minister in the same place until we provide otherwise, and have decreed to prefer there the Master whom we will. And therefore we ask you to allow the said Master Ralph to minister in the said Hermitage as of your own permission and will."

"Teste Henrico &c at White castle xx die Aug."

In the Harleian MSS. No. 5013, occurs the following : "Chapel of Morke in the Parish of S. Briavel is worth in the farm of that Chapel or Hermitage of Morke[1] called S. Margaret's Chappell situate lying and being in the Parish of S. Briavels within the Forest of Deane and of one small garden to the said chapel adjacent and also of the whole of that Grove of land and wood called S. Margarett's Grove containing by estimation 24 acres with all its appurtenances lately in the tenure of David Pendry formerly demised to John Yorke for a term of years just expired, at a rent per annum of 21s. 4d." The date of the above would probably be the reign of Edward VI. or Mary, as David Pendry tenanted certain of the Chantry lands in the 2nd or 3rd Edw. VI.

[1] Mork is probably a corruption of "Mark." The Mark meant, anciently "wood," and, in later times, "march" or "boundary." It was the outlying part of a forest, in which the King and freemen owned rights of pannage for hogs, of turbary and wood for fuel, and of hunting for game.

In the Parliamentary Survey of lands belonging to Charles I., his Queen and the Prince of Wales, circa 1651, occurs the following :—

"S. Margaretts Chappel Lands.

"Chappell and Chappell meade — All that house with the appur^{s} comonly called St Margretts Chappell together with two closes of meddow and coppice ground comonly called St Margrett's meades and in which the said Chappell house now standeth all situate lyeing and beeing in the Morke within the Parish of St Brevialls within the Forest of Deane in the Countie of Glocester which said meades and coppice ground are abutted on the east by a highway leading from the ffence into Morke on the South by a certaine close of ground called the Lower orchard, belonging to one Mr. Perkins ; on the west by the coppice ground called St Margret's Grove ; and on the north by certaine pasture grounds called the ffence, containing by estimaci on three acres and a half more or less which we vallue to bee worth per annum 43s. 4d."

"St Margret's Grove." — "All that close of arable pasture and Coppice Groun d with the appurtenances Comonly called St Margret's Grove Lyeing and beeing in Morke in the Parish afforesaid Abutted on the East by St Margret's mead beefore mentioned and by the Lower Orchard beefore recited, on the South by certain Lands belonging to one —Dales called the Mores and by a Brooke called Morke's brooke and in part by certaine Lands called Gomer's Lands belonging to one Sir William Catchemaye, on the West by the said Gomer's Lands and on the North by the ffence beefore mentioned conteining by estimacion twentye one acres more or less which we vallue to be worth per annum £3 10s."

"And all waies passages Liberties &c."

"Memorandum we finde the Chappell and Groundes above mentioned and recited in the tenure and occupation of one M^{r}

Perkins or his assigns who pretends to hold the same in the right of one Mrs Mallett but what right and title the said Mrs Mallett hath therein wee know not though wee required the said Mr Perkins the present possessor to give notice to the said Mrs Mallett to produce all such evidences whereby she claymed any title or Interest in the same And therefore doe return the same in possession vallued as abovesd."

"Memorandum the said Mr Perkins or his assigns hath cut down this winter most part of the Coppice wood which was growing and standing upon the said St Margrett's Grove but by wt right and authority we Knowe not which said Coppice wood soe cutt down wee estimate to be worth twentye pounds and which wee contend if the said Mrs Mallett or Mr Perkins have noe title therein ought to be Accounted for to the Honble Trustees for the sale of the said lands."

"The residue of the coppice wood and pasture now standing and growing uppon the said Grove and in the Chappell mead not cutt down wee vallue to bee worth in Grosse Six Pound thirteen shillings and ffower pence."

"Totall - - - - -	5 : 13 : 4
"Totall of acres - - - -	24 : 2 : 00
"Gross vallue cutt downe - - -	20 : 00 : 00

"Jeremie Baines."

"Pasture now standing - - -	6 : 13 : 4

"Joh Haddocke
"Samuel Cottman."

The chapel meadow and S. Margaret's Grove now form part of the Lindors' estate.

It remains to notice the Hermitage of S. Briavel, at Stowe. Stowe Grange, behind which the ancient chapel of S. Briavel is believed to have stood, once belonged, as its name implies, to a monastic house. The word "stowe" is simply equivalent to the Latin "locus," a place. Hence the proper name of this hamlet is S. Briavel-stowe. At an early date, namely in the Pipe Roll of 31st Henry I. (1131), the name of S. Briavel's Hermitage occurs. The Hermitage, with two carucates of land and pasture, is said to

have been given by Henry III. in 1227 to the Abbey of Gratia Dei, which was founded in 1226 by John, of Monmouth. From a charter given by Dugdale [1] we learn that two monks were appointed to a certain chantry at a place called the Hermitage of Briavel in the Forest of Dene to celebrate masses every day for the souls of the King and his ancestors. The endowment consisted of lands lying near at hand; and there were rights of common which the monks enjoyed. These common lands, whence the chief part of their support was drawn, appear to have been assarted and enclosed, and were held by tenants of the Crown, so that the rights of common were lost. And the abbot and convent in their petition to the King appear, further, to have stated that the grass growing in the Lordship lands belonging to the hermitage were "depastured, trodden down and consumed by the wild beasts of the forest," so that the two monks were unable to be sustained by the lands attached to their cell. The King therefore by his charter concedes to the abbot and convent that they may find two monks to celebrate the masses in their own convent, and they were therefore exonerated from finding the said chantry at the Hermitage of S. Briavels. "Willing to provide for the tranquillity and peace of the said Abbot and convent, who by various misfortunes are in many ways depressed, that they may be able to serve God and maintain His rites and pray the more devotedly for the souls of our ancestors and for our own soul," the King accepts the oath of the abbot, "that he and his convent will henceforth faithfully find and sustain the said chantry of two monks at the altar of the Blessed Mary in the church of the aforesaid abbey, to celebrate masses every day for our soul and the souls of our ancestors, in place of the said chantry at the aforesaid Hermitage." The abbot and convent were to be permitted to hold the hermitage and lands with the rents and profits. To prevent the chantry from lapsing, every abbot, as soon as he was preferred, was to go to the "Warden or Constable of our Castle of S. Briavel," and take oath that he and his convent would maintain the chantry of two monks at their abbey. And if either of the monks appointed to this service should be "weak, infirm,

[1] The original is in Latin—date 35th Edw, III.

and incapable," or die, then "another or other fit person or persons were to be found faithfully to perform the said chantry, notwithstanding any excuse to the contrary."

"Teste Rege, at Westminster on the 5th day of May (1362)." In the succeeding reign the King (Rich. II.) in consequence of the service of the chantry being withdrawn, granted S. Briavelstowe to John Holton for life. It however reverted to the abbey, and remained in their possession till the dissolution of the religious houses.

The following is the report made by the commissioners in the reign of Edward VI. :—

"Parcel of the Possessions of the late Monastery of Grace Dieu."

Manor of Stowe	Account of David Fidler Bailiff of our Lord the King &c
Arrears	None, because by the late account he was quit,
Rents of Assize	But he renders an account of 2s. 6d. of rents of assize from one tenement called Wetherfelde with divers parcels of land there in the tenure of Thomas Cathemaye to be paid annually at the Feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and of S. Michael the Archangel in equal portions. And of 6d. of rents of assize of another tenement there in the tenure of Henry Elley to be paid annually on the same terms And of 6d of rents of Assize of another tenement in the tenure of John Catchemay, payable at the same periods in equal portions And of 14d of rents of Assize of another tenement in the tenure of John Sclede payable on the said terms in equal portions. And of 3s 9d of rents of Assize of one tenement in the tenure of Thomas Jenkins payable per ann : on the same terms in equal parts And of 5s 4d of rents of Assize of another tenement in the tenure of Will: Cooke to be paid

annually at the said Feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and of S. Michael the Archangel in equal portions

Sum total 13s. 9d.

Farms

And of 7s of one farm of meadow lying adjoining one pasture called Le Longefelde and Castelfelde in the tenure of Edward Dole by Indenture, as it is said, payable at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and of S. Michael the Archangel in equal portions.

And of 15s. 2d. from a farm of two fields lying at Wigate in the tenure of Margaret Burte payable annually on the same terms.

And of 4s. from a farm of one meadow called Stowe Meadowe in the tenure of John Catchemaye payable annually on the same terms.

And of 46s. 8d. from the farm of one Grange in Stowe in the tenure of Matt. Catchemaye.

And of 20s. from a farm of divers parcels of land in the tenure of Matthew Catchemaye to be paid annually at the Feasts of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin and of S. Michael the Archangel in equal portions.

Sum total £4 12s. 10d.

Payments of Court

And from any other profits arising from fees of Court there in this year No return. Because no Court hath been held there this year on the oath of your auditor.

Sum nil.

In the 1st Mary, 1553, a grant of these lands was made to Thomas Carpenter and Wm Savage thus :—

Know all men that we for the sum of £513 and 2s. of lawful money of England into the hands of our beloved councillor Edmund Peckham Knt to our use by our beloved subjects Thomas Carpenter and William Savage, gentlemen, well and

truly paid, and we confess ourselves well and justly satisfied, and do acquit the said Thomas and William their heirs, exors &c of our own proper will have granted to the said Thomas and William all that . . . and manor of Stowe in the Countie of Gloucester lately belonging to the monastery of Grace Dien in the Countie of Monmouth with all its rights &c viz. Longefelde, Castelfelde—fields at Wigate in the tenure of Margaret Byrte, Stowe meadow, the Grange in Stowe aforesaid, and all other the lands parcel of the said Manor now or lately in the tenure of Matthew Catchemay lying and being in the town hamlet aud Parish of Stowe aforesaid Saynt Bryavells and Newland within the forest of Deane.

At Westminster xxvi May Anno Primo Mariæ.

William Warren, who also held the Manor of Willsbury, in S. Briavels, died seized of the Manor of Stowe Grange in the 14th Elizth, 1572.

In the 16th James I. Wm Probert died seized of the Manor of Stowe, having issue by Joan widow of —Carpenter. W^{m} son and heir.

In the following reign the manor became the property of the Hoskyns family, the present house having been built by Mr. K. Hoskyns in 1635. Within this century it passed from that family to a Mr. Cook, by whom it was sold to the trustees of the Clearwell estate about 1867—and is now held by John Eveleigh Wyndham, Esq., of Clearwell Court.

APPENDIX (A).

Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, gives the following extract from a charter of Hen. II. reciting and confirming gifts to Lire Abbey :—

"In Episcopatu Herefordiæ, in ipsâ villâ xij^{ti} et unum burgensem Aclam, ecclesiam de Tidenham, cum appendiciis suis ecclesiam de Lidenai &c." There is also a charter of Gilbert[1] Bishop of Hereford, ratifying and confirming to the abbot and monks of Lire Abbey the churches conceded to them in his diocese. Also a charter of R. Bishop of Hereford as follows :—"Carta R.

[1] Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, 1149-1163.

Herefordensis Episcopi Ecclesiam de Lidencia cum capella de S. Briavella ad Lirensem Abbath. pertinere declareus:—

Universis &c. R. [1] Dei gratiâ Herefordensis ecclesiæ Episcopus &c. Universitati vestræ notum facimus coram nobis recognitum fuisse in dedicatione ecclesiæ de Sancto Briavello, quam (Deo annuente) fecimus ipsam esse capellam pertinentem ad ecclesiam de Ledeneia, et utramque videlicet ecclesiam de Ledeneia, et capellam de Sancto Briavello pertinere ad perpetuum jus Lirensis Monasterii, cum omnibus pertinentibus earum &c." The charter of the Bishop of Worcester runs thus:—" R. Dei gratiâ Wigornensis episcopus universis &c. Universitati vestræ notum fieri volumus controversiam super capellam de Parvâ Lideneiâ et super capellam de Hualdefeld, inter Salmurensis et Lirensis monachos diu fuisse agitatam &c. Auditis ex utraque parte aliquibus allegationibus in prasentiâ nostrâ, tandem . . . . . imperpetuum possidebit, exceptis duobus garbis de decimâ dominii de Parvâ Lideneiâ quas Salmurenses monachos (? monachi) solent antiquitús habere; et similiter illas amodo habebunt Lirenses &c," The Priory of Shene, Surrey, held the impropriation and advowson of Lydney, probably before they were granted to the Abbey of Lire.[2]

A Benedictine abbey in a town of the same name on the river Rille, founded A.D. 1045, by Wm. Fitz Osberne. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, resided here for some time. The annual income is 20,000 livres, with a right of presenting to thirty livings. In Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, p. 54, it is said that Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester, in 1160, gave two churches in Wareham, Dorset, to this abbey.

In this account it is said that Robert Bellamount, Earl of Leicester, gave some churches to Wareham, probably the same gift and the same benefactor under a different name, *temp.* Hen II.

At p. 68 it is stated that Lyre Ocle, or the Manor of Ocley, in Herefordshire, belonged to this abbey. Tanner also states that

[1] Probably Robert de Melun, Bishop of Hereford, 1163-1167, Prior of Llantony, who was held to be "the wisest Bishop in England."

[2] Abbey of Lire—Account of Alien Priories. 1779, Vol. I., p. 66.—*Lyre, Diocese Evreux, Normandy.*

Fitz Osbern gave the Church of S. Mary, in Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, to the Abbey of Lyra.

During the wars between England and France the Alien Priories were seized into the King's hands, and Richard II. gave the Churches of S. Peter and S. Ethelwold, at Wareham, which had been given by the Earl of Leicester to Lire Abbey, to the Abbey of Mountgrace, in Yorkshire.

In the History of Hereford Cathedral, published in 1717 (by Canon Rawlinson) p. 20, an account is given of certain obits connected with that church:—"xiij Kal. (Sept.) Obitus Roberti Abbatis Lirensis Herefordensis Canonici, cujus tempore collata fuit Ecclesia de Lydeneia cum pertinentiis ecclesia Herefordensi." Robert, Abbot of Lire, died in 1272. At p. 15 of *Consuedutines Hereford: eccl:* is the following: "v Id. Junii Obitus Dominii Willielmi de Bello campo, Comitis Warwick, qui dedit jus sui patronatus quod habebat in Ecclesia de Ledeneye Decano et Capitulo hujus Ecclesie."

In the *Liber Ecclesiaticus* of Henry VIII. the Vicarage of Lydney, with the Chapelries of S. Briavels and Llancawte, appear to have been united. The clear yearly value, besides 7s. 8d. paid to the archdeacon as procurations was £23 18s. 8d. x^s^inde 18s. 10½d.

The late Rev. James Birt, who was, I believe, a canon of Hereford Cathedral in 1789, in some MSS. notes, states that in that year the Procurations and Synodals of S. Briavels were 5s. 4d. acq. 4d. = 5s. 8d.—the present charge is 6s. 4d. and 7s. 4d.—the latter charge being made in occasional years.

Among Mr. Birt's notes are extracts from the archives of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, and other sources. I give the following:—

[1] "Consuetudines Hereford, eccl: p. 7."

"Sunt p̄terea duo abbates lyrens̄ et cormelien̄s canonici in ecclesia Hēford hoc m° instituti videt assignantur eis stallum in choro et loca in cap̄lo sicut et aliis canonicis post juramēt investiunt^r

[1] I have endeavoured to get this extract verified and compared with the original, but have failed hitherto, as the archives of the cathedral are withheld from inspection by the chapter clerk.

spualibus et temporalib⁹ p textum et panem. De parva cōunia et majore cōūia nicñ pcipiūt nocturnam autum distribucōm cum ꝑsentes fuerint ad matutinam pcipient sicut alii canonici. Illis vero absentibus IIII^{or} vicarii eoꝝ quos capīlo successive aliis decedentib⁹ presentabunt panem et servīs canōico debitā pcipient. Qui nocturno vicarii debent in ecclēa continue residē et offic̄o diurno et ꝑsonalit̄ intēsēt cum ꝑsentes fuerint in majori altare sicut et alii canonici sacerdotes voce sua ministrabunt et obvencionib⁹ ad dcm altare pvenientib⁹ cōunicabunt cum personaꝛ ministrac̄unt. Alii vero condic̄ones canonicant^{r} eoꝝ in resc̄ptis inter eccliam Hēfoꝝ et Lyrensem et comeliensem sup^{a} his exceptis pleni⁹ memorantur."

"Copy'd exactly from the Original."

"Harleian MSS. Museum No. 6203."

Collections out of an old imperfect Register of the Church of Hereford on Vellum Folio MSS. in Ld Weymouth's Library, Longleat:—

"p. 72 G. Lyrensis Abbas & conv^{s} grant to Dean and Chapter of Hereford Lidney Vic: with Albricton St Brayvell & Hiwaldfield."

"p. 74. Controv^{y} between Beauchamp Earl of Warwick and the Chapter about the Patronage of Lydney granted to that Earl by them."[1]

APPENDIX (B)

Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of S. Briavels from 1719 to 1756:—

1719	Spent ye Time we Drawd ye agreement^{t} about ye Bells & upon ye workmen at several times	00 · 07 · 09
	p^{d} for a Prayer Book for ye Church & a book homilies - - - - - - - -	01 · 10 · 00
	p^{d} Ffor Bell ropes & Carriage from Glou^{ter} -	01 · 08 · 09
	p^{d} Edward Worgan for a new fframe for ye Bells & putting y^{m} up · - - - -	10 · 00 · 00
	more p^{d} him for 85 foot & ½ of Timber & for putting Lintons & props under the Roof of ye Tower & 2 Ropes - - - -	03 · 14 · 00

[1] See post Appendix C.

p^d Ffor 3 hundred of Tile and carriage - 00 · 06 · 00
p^d Ffor a Q^r of a hundred of Laths - - 00 · 00 · 04
Gave 5 men y^t was Slaves in Turkey - - 00 · 01 · 00
p^d ffor a Key for ye Church Chest - - 00 · 00 · 09
p^d ffor Bred and Wine for 2 years - - 00 · 18 · 00
1720 p^d for Bell Ropes & Carridg - - - 01 · 02 · 06
p^d a possession (*i.e.* procession) - - - 00 · 01 · 04
Spent ye day of procession (beating the bounds) 00 · 09 · 00
172½ p^d Edwd Worgan ye Elder for makeing a new Bell wheal and mending the old ones - 01 · 07 · 06
p^d Edwd Worgan ye younger for mending ye pulpit head Communyon Table and Clock house - - - - - - - - 01 · 01 · 00
p^d when bought ye Clocke [1] - - - - 00 · 04 · 00
y^e for loss of time in going to Bristoll me and my partner 4 days - - - - - 00 · 08 · 00
for myself to journeys - - - - - 00 · 06 · 00
p^d at Arthur Kings when p^d for ye Clock - 00 · 19 · 02
Arthur King for Iron work - - - 00 · 06 · 06
p^d for part of ye Clock - - - - 08 · 10 · 08
For fetching ye Clock from Betchley wth my Expenses - - - - - - 00 · 05 · 00
1722 p^d for 12 ells & ½ of holland for the Surplice at 4s 6d per ell - - - - - 02 · 16 · 03
p^d for ye Ringers ye King's Crownation Day · 2 · 6
p^d the 5th of November for ringing &c - 0 · 8 · 2
p^d the Apparitor for a thanksgiving prayer - 0 · 1 · 0

2 Oct 1723. It appearing to the parish that severall sums of money have been brought to the parish accounts as having been paid to vagabonds It is by this parish Ordered that no sums p^d or advanced to Travellers vagrants or vagabonds be for the future allowed to any parish Officer we apprehending such allowance to be against the Law & for the encouragement of such Idle persons & that five

[1] The clock was the gift of the Whittington Trustees. The cost was £11 4s. 0d. Mr. Catchemay, one of the trustees, appears to have paid to the churchwardens £4, leaving "07 · 04 · 00 due to call."

shillings and no more be for the future allowed in the parish accounts as p[d] to the Ringers on the fifth of November and that no money be allowed as spent on any other public occasion unless it shall be agreed to allow any money spent on King George's accession to the crown.

1723 p[d] for the Comunion salver - - - - 00 · 04 · 00
for plank for the Bell free & laying them - 02 · 03 · 00
1724 Rich[d] Prickett for Keeping y[e] Clock - 01 · 00 · 00
The gift Tables[1] - - - - 02 · 10 · 00
for bringing up the tables - - - - 00 · 01 · 00

12 Aug 1725 It is agreed at this Parish Meeting That an order made at a parish meeting 2[d] Oct 1723 concerning the allowing relief to vagabonds be made Standing Order for the future and that no money be allowed to a churchwarden or other Officer as paid to any such vagrant or vagabond.

John Portrey
Will Gough
John Roberts

1725 gave y[e] men for bringing y[e] table from Aylesmore - - - - - - 00 · 00 · 06
p[d] Thomas King for puting up the Table in the Church - - - - - - 00 · 02 · 06
1726 p[d] for making the Church wicket - - - 00 · 08 · 00
and a dusen of ale - - - - - 0 · 1 · 0
p[d] Church wicket smiths work - - - 0 · 03 · 08
for a napking for y[e] church - - - 0 7 · 6
for a spade for y[e] church - - - - 0 · 3 · 6
Pd the glazier's note - - - - - 2 · 5 · 0
1727 p[d] Alice King for Ale the Crownation Day and for Bread and Garden Stuff and for ale the 5th november and for 44 pounds of Beef - 1 · 9 · 6
Pd for a pound of Gunpowder at the Crownnation - - - - - - - 00 · 01 · 04
for cutting the netles in the Ch-yard - - 0 · 1 · 6
1731 p[d] for an act againt swearing - - - 00 · 00 · 03

[1] These tables must have been boards on which a List of Benefactors to the Parish were set forth.

	p[d] for clening the Ditches round the Church and Levalling the wiggat - - -	00 · 01 · 06
1732	p[d] for bringing from Bristoll to Brockwer the Branch [1] being the gift of W[m] Barrow -	00 · 00 · 09
	p[d] for bringing him from thence to S[t] Brev[ls] -	00 · 01 · 00
	p[d] for a line and puting y[e] Branch up in y[e] Church - - - - - - - -	00 · 01 · 06
	p[d] for the Branch Barr with Carage from Bristol to S[t] Briavells 2s. 6d. - - -	04 · 10 · 00
	p[d] for scalding y[e] Bels gudg irons - - -	00 · 01 · 00
	p[d] for new bell ropes with cariage 6[d] running and putting them up 6[d] - - - -	01 · 05 · 00
	p[d] for Clensing the clock wth meat and drink -	00 · 06 · 06
	p[d] for swepping the church walls - -	00 · 01 · 00
1733	for cleaning y[e] Branch - - - -	00 · 01 · 06
	for making 2 Ladders for y[e] Church - -	00 · 06 · 06
1734	p[d] toward the Led at the Tower [2] - -	02 · 00 · 00
	p[d] Edward Barrow for Cleaning and putting up Clock - - - - - - -	0 · 7 · 6
1735	p[d] to John Worgan for haing the Beels with new wheels and stocks - - - -	10 · 00 · 00
	p[d] July y[e] 15th at a meeting abo[t] y[e] Bells -	000 · 01 · 00
	spent when agreed for new hainging the Bells	00 · 01 · 00
	Ch. for mending the stile by y[e] wigit - -	000 · 00 · 06
	p[d] for new roops for the bells with carage and puting up - - - - - - -	000 · 19 · 0
	Ch for two bottles Mr. Davis had - - -	000 · 00 · 03
	p[d] W[m] Ball for 79 yards of new paving with leying 1 · 6 per yeard - - - -	008 · 18 · 06
	p[d] him more for 8 y[ds] of paving at 2[s] 9[d] per yeard - - - - - - -	000 · 06 · 04½
	Ch for halling 8 Loads of paving - - -	002 · 00 · 00
1736	p[d] for Horselock for y[e] Church Wiggit - -	00 · 01 · 00

[1] This was a handsome brass chandelier, which was taken away when the church was restored in 1861.

[2] In this year extensive repairs were made to the tower as the payments for Lead amount to £14 14s. 6d. and there were heavy payments for timber.

	p[d] to Job & Thomas Hulin for Twelve Sq[r] and three Quarters of Tileing work at 7[s] per Sq[r] - - - - - - - - -	04 · 09 · 03
	p[d] to Will[m] Ball for 4 Thousand of Tyle at 10[s] per Thousand - - - - - - -	02 · 00 · 00
	p[d] John Lewis for halling Tyle - - -	02 · 02 · 06
	p[d] for mending and painting the weathercock	00 · 02 · 06
1737	W[m] fford and Will[m] Jones have p[d] to M[r] Crofts for altering the Common Prayer Book - - - - - - - -	00 · 01 · 00
1738	p[d] for cloth and tape for the Sconce - -	00 · 02 · 01
	p[d] John Constant for a stock for y[e] Bell -	00 · 02 · 06
	p[d] for Bell Ropes and Carridge - - -	00 · 18 · 00
	p[d] for Stocking y[e] Bell - - - -	00 · 06 · 00
	p[d] for a duzen of Ale for Running y[e] Ropes -	00 · 01 · 00
1739	p[d] for stocking y[e] Bell and fastening y[e] frams of y[e] other bells 4 days - - - -	00 · 06 · 00
	Spent in treying to buy mating for y[e] Church	00 · 02 · 00
	Spent for possetioning - - - -	00 · 08 · 06
Aug 3	p[d] for Binding the Bible and Common Prayer Book - - - - - - - -	00 · 01 · 06
	y[e] 4 p[d] the Clockmaker - - - -	01 · 00 · 00
	p[d] for a prayer book for the 9th January being a fast - - - - - - - -	00 · 01 · 00
1740	Expenses at Gloucester about the Mayburys father and son and going with them thither	3 · 0 · 0
	p[d] John Robinson, High Constable - -	1 · 6 · 0
	pd when the enclosures were thrown up -	0 · 3 · 9
	p[d] Richard Straden High Constable - -	1 · 19 · 0
	p[d] for a warrant against offenders in Hudnells	0 · 0 · 6
	p[d] Mary Thomas for gathering 7 Baggs of Moss - - - - - - - -	0 · 2 · 4
	p[d] for Ale when we came to see what was out of order with the Bells - - - -	0 · 1 · 0
1741	p[d] for Bell ropes & carridg - - -	01 · 03 · 00
1743	p[d] Geo Rannalls for mending the Great Bell -	00 · 01 · 06

p[d] Tho[s] Howling for White Limeing where y[e] Tenth Commandment the Lords Prayer and beliefe was - - - - - - 0 · 1 · 6

p[d] for mending y[e] Surplus - - - - 00 · 02 · 06

p[d] Tho[s] Howling for sealing the Church being 92 yards & five foot at 3 pence per yard - 01 · 03 · 00

p[d] Geo Rannalls for a doore for y[e] Church - 01 · 06 · 00

p[d] for a set Bell roopes and Carriage - - 00 · 12 · 00

p[d] for puting up ye Bell roopes - - - 00 · 01 · 00

p[d] for a prayer for ye fast - - - - 00 · 01 · 00

1744 May 1. to y[e] Aparitor for form of prayer - 00 · 01 01

1745 Paid for 11 ells of Holland at 6[s] per ell - 03 · 06 · 00

do for making the Surplice - - - - 00 · 10 · 06½

do for thread for sewing the Surplice - 00 · 02 · 01

Oct 9. 1746 To fire coale for y[e] Church - - 00 · 00 · 09

To cash paid for a Prayer - - - 0 · 1 · 0

To cash paid for a new Whipping Post - 0 · 7 · 0

To cash paid for an Act of Parliam[t] ag[t] Provine Cussing and Swearing - - - 0 · 0 · 6

1747 To cash paid for 1 y[d] of Holland for thred and worke Done to y[e] Surplice - - 0 · 3 · 8

In this year a sum of money was paid to the clerk John Underwood for proclaiming "the afaires of Huddols" (Hudnalls).

1748 Pd order of Council - - - - - 00 · 01 · 00

Pd washing the old Surplice - - - 00 · 01 · 00

1749 Pd the Perambulation of the Parish - - 00 · 19 · 00

1750 July y[e] 24 At a parris meeting at S[t] Briavels holds that no Badger shall be paid for nor any Fox except hee or they shall make an affodavit before one of his majestis Jestis of the pece for this County.

James Davies Cl.
W[m] Allen
John Roberts

Edw[d] Dale John Milson W[m] Court John Barrow

1750 July 21. Paid Geo Rannalls for puting up the Bells - - - - - - - - 00 · 03 · 00

Nov 5 Paid for five new bell ropes - - - 00 · 19 · 06

1751	16th Octr p^{d} for 36 foot and half of Lettis[1] for two windows of ye Church - - -	01 · 07 · 06
	p^{d} for a cloth for ye Communion tabel -	01 · 05 · 00
	p^{d} Humfree Powell putting peces of bord round ye windows to hold ye Lettis -	00 · 01 · 06
1752	June 11th. Paid Isak Williams for three martains and Two foxes made oath before justis Kild in the parish of St Briavells - -	00 · 03 · 06
	Nov 19 Paid Humphrey Powell for mending the Parson's Pew and the Clark's Pew and for Board and other Meterals as by Receip^{t}	01 · 12 · 09
1753	For carrying the snow out of the church -	00 · 01 · 00
	For 5 new Bell ropes - - - -	00 · 17 · 09
	Pd a new Register for Marriages - - -	00 · 12 · 00
	Ditto the Apparitor for attending on Sarah Phillips doing Penance - - - -	00 · 04 · 08
1754	Paid for a new Prayer Book - - - -	00 · 15 · 00
1755	Pd Thos King for the weathercock - -	00 · 05 · 00
	Pd Thos King for clappering ye Bell - -	00 · 02 · 06
1756	Pd for a barrel of lime to wite ye Church -	00 · 00 · 09
	Pd Jas Hulin for washing ye Church - -	01 · 02 · 00
	Pd for dreying the Surplus and dreying the Bureing Cloath - - - - -	00 · 00 · 06

[1] I conjecture that the Lattice work was put up to protect the north windows of the nave from being broken by the fives balls, as that game used to be played against the church walls on that side till comparatively recent times.

There was an ancient custom on Whit Sunday immediately after the evening service of throwing bread and cheese of the stalest description, cut up into pieces the size of dice, in the church ; the parson ere he left the pulpit coming in for his share. It is probable that in ancient times bread and cheese were distributed in the church by the churhwardens. Tradition says that this bread and cheese was paid for from a sort of quit rent paid by the parishioners on account of the special privileges of pasturage and the cutting of the underwood on Hudnalls enjoyed by them time out of mind, but now almost entirely lost through the negligence of the parish in permitting encroachments. The enclosures began about 90 years ago, and very little of the open wood now remains.

The rights of the people of S. Briavels over Hudnalls were carefully reserved in an Act of Charles. II. Cromwell endeavoured to deprive the people of their privileges, but they were afterwards restored. For many years there was a Parish Officer called "the Keeper of Hudnalls," whose duty it was to prevent encroachments and to impound all goats.

p^d Christopher Thorne for making the Stocks and puting up - - - - - 00 · 08 · 00

p^d James Williams for ye eiaron work for the work for the Stocks - - - - - 00 · 05 · 06

St Briavels

March ye 12th 1744-5

Where as it is agreed upon at a Parish meeting then holden in the Parish afore said that whosoever be chosen or made Choise of as Churchwarden shall serve Overseer of ye Poor for ye future in the same year.

Signed James Rooke
J. Davis Min^r
Wm Allen
John Roberts
John Hoskins
Richd Godwin

Richd Thomas	Chris' Thorne	John Milson
John Constant	Wm Court	Edwd Barrow
Richd Bond	Edward Dale	Thos Byrken

Payments for Badgers, Foxes, Martins, Otters, Fitches, Hedgehogs, &c., constantly occur in the accounts. The rate of payment being 1s. for otters, badgers, and foxes and 6d. for martins, polecats, &c.

In 1719 is the following entry p^d ffor 2 Visitations and two Scitations for 2 years - - . - - - 02 · 17 · 09

1720 p^d ffor Bread and Wine at X^mas - - - 00 · 02 · 11

In this year 12 foxs' heads and 4 polecats and a martin were paid for.

1722 Bread & wine - - - - . - 0 · 2 · 8

1724 Bread and wine three times - - - - 00 · 09 · 10½

From these payments it is not possible to tell on what days in the year Holy Communion was celebrated—certainly not more than three times. In some years there is no charge for bread or wine. There are three entries in 1727, in which Easter and Whit Sunday are mentioned. The other celebration must have been at Christmas—so that, for at least six months, there was no celebration.

APPENDIX C.

The notes on p. 94 appearing unsatisfactory we have obtained the following extracts from Harl. MS. 6203, in explanation and correction.—ED. :

Collections (A.D. 1718) out of an old Imperfect Register of the Church of Hereford.—*Lord Viscount Weymouth at Longleat, Wilts.*

[p. 72] Universis, &c., G. Lyrensis Abbas & Conven̄ Sal. Nov̄ nos concessisse, &c. Gileberto Clerico filio Pagani perpetuam Vicariam Eccl̄æ S. Mariæ de Lydney, & Capellarum ejus, scilicet Capellæ de Albricton, & Capellæ de Brayvell & Capellæ de Hiwaldfeld. Ad hanc autem Vicariam 3am portionem Decimationem, oblationum, &c. ad præd Eccl̄am sive ad Capellas ejus pertinentium, eidem G. assignavimus. Ita tamen q^d memoratus G. nomine Vicariæ omnia onera Eccl̄æ in omnibus sustinebit. Reliquas vero duas partes quas Ep̄i Hereford nobis ad usus n̄ros in perpet̄ pertinere concesserunt, eidem G. concessimus tenendas quamdiu vixerit, &c.—p. 174.

[p. 74] Hæc est Compositio facta inter Decanum & Capit̄ Hereford & Rob̄. de Wakeringes Personam Eccl̄æ de Welington, de Decimis Assartorum Forestæ de Dene, circa S. Braivellum, quas Decanus & Capit̄ contendebant ad Capellam suam de S. Braivell pertinere, & præd Robertus contendebat ad Eccl̄am suam de Welington pertinere, viz., &c., p. 174.

Then follow several Charters relating to Lydney, viz., of a controversy between Willm de Bello Campo Earl of Warwick and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, about the Patronage of Lydney granted to them by that Earl 55 R. Henrici III, &c. p. 175, &c.

NOTES ON BUCKLAND MANOR AND ADVOWSON

From A.D. 709 to A.D. 1546.

By the Revd. WILLIAM BAZELEY, M.A.

"Kynred, King of the Mercians, gave the Manor of Bokeland in the time of Edburga, the abbess." [1]

Such is the brief record in the History of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, of a royal donation, which held good for 830 years.

The Hwiccas, or West Saxon inhabitants of the Severn valley and the Cotswolds, fell under the dominion of the Mercians in 628 by virtue of a treaty which Penda made with Cynegils and Cwichelm after the battle of Cirencester.[2]

Penda was a steady adherent of Paganism, and his long reign of nearly thirty years was a continued struggle against the introduction of Christianity into his kingdom; but it swept across Mercia like a tidal wave during the reigns of his successors Wulpher, Ethelred and Kynred.

It was not the Roman mission that converted the Hwiccas; though as early as 603, St. Augustine, the first Roman missioner, had held a conference with the bishops of the British Church on Hwiccian soil.[3]

The credit is due to less haughty, but not less courageous missioners from Iona, where the Irish saint and exile Columba had landed in 565.[4] It was from the lands of the Picts and from Northumbria, and not from Rome that the Gospel message, after a long and dreary silence of a hundred years, reached the heathen

[1] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, edited by W. H. Hart, and printed under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, Vol. I., p. 67.

[2] Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, A.D. 628.

[3] Bede *Eccl. Hist.* A.D. 603. [4] Bede *Eccl. Hist. Church*, IV. § 159.

Saxons of Gloucestershire and their no less heathen serfs, the descendants of Christian Britons.

In 681 Ethelred, then King of Mercia, and a Christian, gave a large extent of his royal demesne outside the walls of the old Romano-British town of Caer Glou, or Glou-ceaster, to Osric, under-King of the Hwiccas, with a view to his founding an abbey and constituting Kyneburg, Osric's sister, the first abbess.

It was a peculiarity of the Irish Church to establish monasteries in which an abbess or an abbot ruled over a mixed community of monks and nuns; and for the first century of its existence it would seem that this was the arrangement at St. Peter's, Gloucester.

Kyneburg ruled for thirty years, and was succeeded by Edburga, a lady of royal blood, and the widowed Queen of Wolpher, the first Christian King of Mercia.

Kynred succeeded to the kingdom of Mercia on the retirement of his uncle Ethelred into the monastery of Bardney; and in 710, after a short reign of five years, Kynred also relinquished his crown and retired to a monastery near Rome. One of his last acts as King must have been to bestow, at the request of his royal mother or stepmother, Edburga, the royal manor of Bokeland, on St. Peter's, Gloucester.[1]

The name of Buckland, or Boc-land, tells us something of the history and character of the manor.

Boc-land was a private estate held under a written title.[2] Kynred, with the consent of his witenagemot, had conferred on the abbess and her monastery a part of the folkland, or royal demesne, on the western slopes of the Cotswolds, and had made the gift sure by his charter and seal.

There is an interesting passage in one of King Alfred's treatises, in which he shews how *bocland*, or land of inheritance confirmed by charter, might be obtained:—"If a man has built a cottage on the *lænland* with his lord's help or permission he

[1] *Hist. et Cart.* Vol. I., p. 6.

[2] See Stubbs' *Constitutional Hist. of England*, Vol. I., p. 87 note.

trusts that he may occupy it until, through his lord's grace, he may obtain *boc-land* and permanent inheritance."[1] As no mention of this manor by its name of Buckland appears in the confirmations by Mercian Kings and Saxon over-lords of their predecessors' grants to St. Peter's it must appear under some other, possibly Bibladene.[2]

The Abbey of Gloucester passed through many vicissitudes and several changes during the four centuries which followed its foundation, and found itself at the time of the Norman conquest the nominal lord of fourteen manors. Four of the largest had been alienated by Aldred, Archbishop of York, as security for a large sum of money he had expended, as Bishop of the Hwiccas, on the rebuilding of the abbey crypt and choir. Buckland was still, however, in the undoubted possession of the monks, and the manor is thus described in the Domesday Survey of 1086 :—

"In Wideles Hund. Ipsa eccła teñ Bochelande. Ibi x hidæ. In dnio sunt iij car̃ & xxij villi & vj bord cum xij car̃. Ibi viij servi & x ac̃ p̃ti. Valuit iij lib̃ modo viiij lib̃."

In Wideles Hundred the same church (St. Peter's, Gloucester) holds Bocheland. There are ten hides there. In demesne are three plough lands and twenty-two villeins and six bordars with twelve ploughs. There are eight serfs and ten acres of meadow. Its value in the time of King Edward was £3, it is now worth £9.

There have been changes in the Hundreds since 1086. Buckland has been for many centuries in the Hundred of Kiftsgate, which takes its name from a place so called on the brow of the hill above Weston-sub-Edge. where the court hundred was formerly held.[3]

I am ignorant of the locality of Wideles ; but I find the name of Richard de Wideslade as lord of the manor of Eastleech Turville in the time of Edward III.[4]

[1] See Mr. Seebohm's Translation of MS. Vit. A, xv. fol 1, Br. Mu. in *The English Village Community*, p. 170.

[2] Carta Ethelredi, *Hist. et Cart.*, Appendix to Introduction, Vol. I., p. lxxij.

[3] Rudder, *History of Gloucestershire*, p. 810.

[4] Ibid. p. 433.

The hide was not a specific measure, but an area of land sufficent to support a plough team (on an average of eight oxen) for the cultivation of the arable land pertaining to it, and varied considerably in size according to the quality and nature of the land and other circumstances. It varied not only in different parts of England, but in the same hundred and on the same manor. A hide at Buckland, at the rate of 4 virgates of 36 acres to the hide, consisted of 144 statute acres; but the soil is composed of remarkably stiff clay; whereas on the abbey manor of Cubberly, where the soil is very light, one hide of 4 virgates consisted of 288 acres.[1]

In 1109 St. Peter's Abbey became possessed of a small manor at Guiting Power of 2 hides in area. These hides in Saxon times had been separate manors. One hide consisted of 152 acres, and the other of 160 acres. In 1099 Roger de Bulley gave to the abbey the manor of Clifford, consisting of 7 hides, some of which were in the hamlet of Eyleston. These hides varied in area from 112 to 192 acres.[2]

It is stated in the Domesday Survey that there were 10 hides at Buckland. The whole manor would therefore consist of 1440 acres if the hide at the time of the Survey were the same as it had been originally.

When England was assessed for Danegeld, in the time of King Ethelred, 976-1016, the hide was taken as the basis for assessment, and every manor was hidated and assessed, not according to its extent but according to its capacity to bear taxation.[3]

The Domesday Commissioners brought back the measurement of the land to its ancient correctness. Where they found the hide used as a basis for taxation they retained it; but after stating the assessment of King Ethelred they gave the area according to a more accurate system of mensuration which obtained in Normandy and was introduced into England at the Conquest. Where, as on the borders of Wales, the older system had not been used

[1] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. III., compare pp. 61 and 211.

[2] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. III., p. 49 et seq.

[3] See Eyton's *Analysis of the Dorset Survey*, p. 10.

because the land had been conquered and occupied by the Normans, the surveyors made no mention of the hide. The following is an extract from the Survey of Welsh land on the west side of the Wye, which was treated as though it belonged to Gloucestershire:

"Willelmus de Ow habet de Strigoielg ix libras per consuetudinem ut dicit. In Wales habet isdem Willelmus in feudo iij piscarias in Waie (on the Wye.) Reddunt LXX solidos; et in eodem feudo dedit Willelmus comes Radulfo de Limesi L *carucatas terræ sicut fit in Normannia.*" [1]

Caruca is a plough with all its belongings, and Carucata is the amount of land that a plough can cultivate. It is unfortunate that the same contraction stands for both in the Domesday Survey. The commissioners carefully enquired how many plough-teams were required to plough the arable land, making allowance for the grazing land required for the oxen, and gave the exact number without reference to the geld or taxation.

There is evidence that the tenants, whilst they were compelled by the custom of the manor to provide amongst them the number of oxen required for their lord's plough, were allowed to use a smaller plough for the lands which they held in common villenage.[2]

The commissioner described every manor as of two parts the lord's demesne, and the land held in villenage. The former was the *home farm*, and included such portions as the lord chose to let off for longer or shorter terms, and at money rents in fee tenure. The latter was held at customary services, which as time went on were compounded for at their traditional value in money.

Buckland is a good example of a manor which retained its Saxon character, notwithstanding the immense changes brought about in England by the Norman invasion. There were no freedmen at Buckland even as late as 1266; there were no Norman soldiers (Francigenæ) holding land at a nominal rental, as at the abbey manors of Aldsworth and Hinton-on-the Green.[3]

[1] See Eyton's *Dorset Survey*, p. 17.

[2] Seebohm's *Village Communities*, comp. pp. 73 and 85.

[3] See Domesday Survey and also Rudder, pp. 71, 221, 501.

I find only villeins (villani) and bordars, twenty-two of the former and of the latter sixteen. I shall say more of these below when I speak of the abbey "extent" of Buckland manor taken in 1266.

The "Servi" were mere slaves. They did not belong to the land, but to the lord. He could sell when he chose; they had no rights; he paid them no wages. The commissioners of Gloucestershire sometimes condescended to mention the female slaves. On the abbey manor of Leech (Northleach) there were four *servi* and two *ancillæ*. These slaves, male and female, were no doubt, many of them, the direct descendants of the British inhabitants of Gloucestershire, who were subdued by the West Saxons after the battle of Deorham in 577.

There were 10 acres of meadow land ('prati') on the Buckland manor. We must be careful to distinguish between the pasture and meadow land of a Domesday manor. The pasture land was the rough unenclosed area which was useful for grazing purposes, but untouched by the scythe. The meadow land, which was usually small in proportion to the whole acreage, was lowland grass of the best quality, from which the hay was obtained.

The commissioners conclude by giving two valuations to Buckland manor: the former we must consider as relating to the time of Edward the Confessor's death, the latter to the time of the Survey. The increase from £3 to £9 in a period of about twenty years is amazing. We find a proportionate increase on all the manors of St. Peter's abbey. This may be partly accounted for by improved farming and better stocking; but it is evident that whereas the hidation of King Edward's time was often beneficial and therefore unequal in area the Domesday surveyors gave the actual value "per annum" of the produce of the demesne land, together with any payments in money from the tenants of the land in villenage.[1]

I find in the abbey chartulary confirmations of the manor of Buckland by Henry II. (1154-1189)[2] and by Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216).[3] The church of Buckland is first mentioned, as a possession of St. Peter's, by Pope Clement III. (1187-1191).[4]

[1] Eyton's *Dorset Survey*, p. 7.
[2] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. I., p. 349.
[3] *Ibid.* Vol. III., p. 2.
[4] *Ibid.* Vol. III., p. 14.

In 1266, during the reign of Henry III. and the Abbacy of Reginald de Homme, a very careful survey was made of the possessions of St. Peter's, which shews in a very clear light the condition of the manor 180 years after the great Inquest. This survey, or "extent," is given in the Chartulary.[1]

The Manors of Buckland, Guiting Power, Clifford Chambers, and Hinton-on-the-Green, were appropriated to the service of the abbot's chamber, and were under the superintendence of the camerarius, or abbot's chamberlain. One of the tenants of each manor acted as reeve or bailiff (prepositus); and a seneschal or steward was answerable to the chamberlain for the rents and services of the four manors. The jurors who made the survey of Buckland were Stephen of the Mill, William Att Yate, Thomas in la Hale and Stephen of Ablintone.

There were twenty-nine customary tenants in villenage—

Alice the widow	Nicholas in the Hall
William atte Gate	Matilda Wigoth,
Edelina the widow	Walter Roc
Hamund the Smith	William of the Cemetery
Walter the yunge	Robert of the Cemetery
Nicholas Godfrey	Wygoth the younger
Philip below the village	James Wygoth
William below the village	Henry Wygoth
Richard of Hampton	Richard the son of the Bailiff
Thomas in the Hall (abbot's manor house)	The same Richard
	Juliana Wodeward
Walter Goddot	Walter of Wrinintone
Alice Brentes	Walter the Blake
William Kec	Walter Williames
Stephen the Bailiff	Robert the Rede

Alexander below the village

one of whom, Richard, the son of Stephen the Bailiff, held 2 virgates containing 36 acres, and the rest a virgate each. There were fourteen bordars or cottier tenants—

Juliana the widow	Thomas Attewell

[1] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. III., p. 35 et seq.

Nicholas White,	William Hepe
Loveckoc Richards	John Cnyth
Adam Godriche	Simon of the Mill
Thomas in the Hall	William Careter
Nicholas Bovetone	Richard Loviare
Thomas Knyth	Stephen the Bailiff

held 7 virgates, a virgate between two. Sixteen bordars—

Walter the Carpenter	Nicholas the Lorimer (bit-maker)
William Ferthing	Walter the Weaver
Nicholas Jones	Walter Hathulf
William Chalone	Philip Puck
William Cowherd	Walter of the Ash-wood
William Broadweb	Roger Buffarde
Margery Bissop	Matilda Ginlyttest
William Alured	Agnes Stuperes

each of whom held a messuage with curtilage and an acre of land. Edelina the widow and Adam the Smith, each of them a similar tenement, and it is stated in the survey that they were bound to render the same services as the other bordars ; but they only paid three shillings a year rent in half-yearly instalments. Robert the Chaplain held a house (domum) with curtilage and paid a shilling a year, at the will of the lord.

Walter le Mon had a similar holding and paid a like rent, together with some minute customary services which were not taxed. Walter the Carpenter held an acre of land, free of rent, on condition that he repaired his lord's utensils when required.

Richard of Hampton held 4 acres of land, paid 4 shillings a year, gave aid and rendered certain minute and untaxed services.

Hamund the Blacksmith held a messuage with a curtillage, 6 acres of land called Mill land and 2 mills, for which he paid an annual rent of 32s.

The services, and their respective value in money, which were required from the customary tenants were as follows :—

Services of the twenty-nine villiens for each virgate :

From Michaelmas to the feast of St. Peter ad vincula (Aug. 1st).

To provide one labourer for four days every other week, or pay the lord ½d. for each day's labour.

To plough 1 acre for winter sowing, 1 acre for spring sowing (ad yemale) and 2 acres for fallow (ad warectum), or pay 20d.

To take a horse load of farm produce (summagiare) on Thursday in every other week to Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Evesham, Campden, Clifford Chambers or Worcester, or pay for each such journey 1½d.

If required to thresh, to thresh 2 bushels of wheat, peas, beans or barley, or 4 bushels of oats.

If required to mow, to mow the lord's meadow for 4 days at least, or pay 12d.

To make and pick up the lord's hay for 4 days, or pay 2d.

To wash and shear his sheep for 2 days, or pay 1d.

To carry hay with half a wagon, or a cart, or pay 2d.

If required to weed it was to count as manual labour.

To thresh three times a year for the lord abbot's coming instead of doing manual labour, or pay 1½d.

To carry hay-cocks into the lord's grange when required, or pay 2d.

To thresh 2 bushels of wheat for seed, or pay ½d.

To weed the lord's corn for 6 days, or pay 3d.

To give 1 hen or 1d.

The whole value of the above services, being 11 shillings.

From August 1st to September 29th they were :

To provide the labourer every week in the lord's harvest field, or pay 1½d. a day.

To make 2 bede-ripes (reaping at their lord's request) every week with 2 labourers, or pay 6d. a week.

To carry the lord's corn, instead of doing manual labour.

To give aid according to the quantity of their holding and the number of their animals.

If they brewed beer for sale to give 1d. or a pennyworth of beer.

To give pannage, 1d. for every pig over one year, and ½d. for each of the younger ones as long as they were with the sow.

Not to sell a horse nor an ox without license.

Not to alienate a son from the manor or marry away a daughter without redemption.

If they died the lord was to have their best beast by way of heriot. The total value of these services was 9 shillings.

Services of the fourteen bordars or cottier tenants :

From Michaelmas to August 1st they were

To provide a labourer one day every week, or pay ½d.

To wash and shear the lord's sheep for 2 days, or pay 1d.

To make and take up the lord's hay for 4 days, or pay 2d.

To give a hen at Christmas, or pay 1d.

To carry hay-cocks into the lord's grange when necessary, or pay ½d. a day.

From August 1st to Michaelmas they were

To provide a labourer for 2 days a week, or pay 1d. a day.

To pay pannage, tonnage of beer and heriot.

To perform the other untaxed services mentioned above.

Not to sell a horse nor an ox with —

To redeem a son or a daughter

The total amount paid annually as "aid" to the lord was 3 marks and a half. All the tenants were to have at harvest time a shorn sheep called *Madchep*, and whoever was engaged at work all day when they were binding up the sheaves was to have a sheaf. So was everyone engaged in carrying home the corn.

There were at Boclonde 4 plough-teams on the lord's farm, 44 oxen in all, reckoning 10 to the team and 4 over.

We learn from these particulars that the tenants no longer worked for the lord unless they chose ; but paid an annual rent for their holding. The holders of a virgate or 36 acres paid one pound a year besides as *aid*. The holders of half a virgate half that sum, and the bordars a little more than five shillings a year. The only traces left of the old serfdom, and they were very distinct and disagreeable traces, were the redemption fees for their sons and daughters and the lord's right to prevent the sale of horses and cattle.

Instead of the tenants providing the oxen for the manor teams, the whole number required were kept on the manor farm ; and the tenants only did their own work with their own oxen. The annual value of that part of the manor which was in villenage

and which appears to have consisted of 37½ virgates or 1330 acres was upwards of £43.

The houses, mills and land let to Robert the Chaplain, Walter le Mon, Walter the Carpenter, Richard de Hampton and Hamond the Smith probably belonged to the demesne and produced 38 shillings. What the profits of the home farm were is not shewn, but the annual value of the whole manor must have been considerably over £60, seven times as much as it was estimated by the Domesday surveyors in 1086, and twenty times as much as it passed for in the days of the Confessor. We learn very little from this "extent" of the daily life of the tenants when not occupied on their lord's lands. From other sources we know that as a rule each holder of a virgate had 2 oxen which were yoked in the common plough teams, that the land in villenage consisted of many common fields divided into strips of about 40 poles long by 4 wide, and therefore containing an acre. These strips were divided by narrow lines of turfs called *meres* in Gloucestershire.

A piece of ground containing 10 of these strips side by side was called a furlong. The 36 strips to which the holder of a virgate at Buckland was entitled were not contiguous but were scattered in all directions through the common fields. I find very frequent mention in the abbey chartulary of these strips of arable land under the name of *seliones*. The villagers of Upton-St. Leonard call them *lands*.[1]

There is only one Buckland lease in the abbey chartulary. Soon after the date of the "extent" Abbot Reginald de Homme granted to Walter de Sandhurst, one of the virgates of land which Richard son of Stephen the bailiff held at that time. Probably the family which formerly held it had died out and the bailiff's son was only holding it until a new tenant could be found.

Walter de Sandhurst, we learn from his name, was not a native of Buckland. He was probably brother of Richard de Sandhurste, the cellarer of the abbey in 1266,[2] and obtained this grant through his influence with the abbot and chamberlain.

[1] This subject has been treated at great length and with great ability by Mr. Seebohm in *The English Village Community*.

[2] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. III., p. 35.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod nos R. Dei gratia abbas Gloucestriæ et ejusdem loci conventus, concessimus et tradidimus Waltero de Sondehurste unam virgatam terræ in villa de Bonclaunde cum pertinentiis; illam scilicet quam Ricardus filius præpositi de nobis tenuit, et quam habuimus in manu nostra anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis quinquagesimo secundo; habendam et tenendam de nobis et successoribus nostris ad vitam suam, et ad vitam primæ uxoris suæ, si quam ducere contigerit, tantum; quod si uxorem non duxerit, ad vitam Adæ clerici fratris sui si eum supervixerit, libere et quiete, bene et in pace, pro decem solidis annui redditus ad duos anni terminos annuatim persolvendis pro omnibus servitiis ad nos inde pertinentibus, excepto quod idem Walterus vel qui dictam terram tenuerit auxilium in festo Sancti Michaelis sicut alii vicini sui qui tantam terram tenent annuatim nobis præstabit. Idem vero Walterus juramentum nobis præstabit. Idem vero Walterus juramentum nobis præstitit quod fidelis erit ecclesiæ nostræ, maxime de reddendo redditu nostro plenarie statutis terminis, et quod nec artem nec ingenium exquiret, unde domus nostra per tenuram suam damnum incurrat, et quod prædictam terram neque vendet, neque escambiet, neque in vadimonium ponet sine assensu et voluntate nostra. Post decessum vero prædictorum Walteri, uxoris suæ, seu Adæ, ut prædictum est, præfata terra cum omni melioratione superposita ad nos plenarie revertetur sine contradictione suorum. In cujus rei testimonium præsens scriptum in modum cyrographi confectum est, cujus unam partem, sigillo ecclesiæ nostræ signatam, dicto Willelmo tradidimus, alteram vero partem, sigillo ipsius roboratam, penes nos retinuimus. Hiis testibus.[1] There are no traces of serfdom in this lease.

In 1289 the goods moveable and immoveable of the abbey of Gloucester were taxed and rated as recorded in the Exchequer by the Treasurer and Barons. They were certified to King Edw. I. into his chancery, and at the request of the abbot were caused to be exemplified. Buckland manor is thus rated: 4 plough-lands at 30s.; 2 mills, 33s.; stock, 20s.; customary work, 40s.; and the total annual value is said to be £12 3s. 0d.[2]

[1] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. II., p. 201.

[2] Frocester's MS. Register A., No. 74.

A.D. 1287 there was a contention between William de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick and his tenants of Wickwane on the one side and the abbot and convent of Gloucester and their tenants of Buckland on the other side, concerning common rights of pasture in the said vills of Wickwane and Buckland. The contention ceased under the following terms of agreement, viz.: "That the said abbot and convent for themselves and successors and their tenants of Buckland have quit claimed to the said Earl and his heirs and to his tenant of Wickwane, the whole common rights of pasture which they have or ought to have in the said manor of Wickwane and that for the future the said Earl, his heirs and tenant may have common rights of pasture in time of fallow in that land called Plagfurlong and Hyelond, which had been formerly separated. And for this release the said Earl grants, &c., that the Abbot and convent and their tenants may inhoke (plough up) in time of fallow part or the whole of that land which lies between Oldfield and Plagfurlong and along by that *mere* directly proceeding to the way called Hyneton's way; but that it shall be lawful for the Earl's tenants to have common rights of pasture in the said land immediately after the vesture has been carried from it and also on the land which in time of fallow shall not be inhoked & sowne. And the said Earl promises not to require any common rights in the lands of the tenants of Buckland and Aberton (Laberton) beyond the way called Blakeney Street towards Buckland, nor beyond Hynton's way on the other side. If it happens that the beasts of Wickewane pass beyond those ways to feed, they may be taken back in an orderly manner without impound.

In like manner the beasts of the tenants of Buckland which stray into the Earl's lands are to be free from impoundage.

If damage be done in corn or meadow on either side amends may be made amicably by consideration of lawful men of both vills.[1] The agreement bore the seals of the Earl and the Abbot, Sir William the Seneschal. Sir Robert, Rector of the church of Aston and many others were witnesses.

[1] Frocester's MS. Register B., No. 910.

Richard of Weston, Walter of Weston, John of Brunesgrave Nicholas de Bosevile, Richard Agate, Robert the Pamner, Nicholas of Youngelonde, William the Miller, Reginald the Shepherd and Edith Baron, free tenants of Wychwane reciting the above agreement verbatim ratify it for themselves and their heirs, and the Abbot and convent execute the same on the same day and year as the above agreement beareth date.[1] The witnesses are William de Dumbleton, Odo de Dumbleton and others.

Then follow in the Register the charters of Ralph de Aldesworth de Wickwane, William de Dumbleton & Odo de Dumbleton, William de la Hale and Richard fitz Philip confirming this agreement.[2]

In 1370 the Earl of Warwick complained that the Abbot of Gloucester and his tenants had not acted according to their agreement with William the Earl and the matter was put in reference.[3]

In 1371 King Edward III. issued a writ to John Attewood, Keeper or Farmer of the Hundred of Kyftesgate, not to distrain on Buckland, a manor of the Abbot of Gloucester, it appearing that he held it in perpetual almoigne without any service or suit to the King or to any other.[4]

These are the only references to Buckland that I have found in Abbot Frocester's MS. Registers A and B in the Gloucester Cathedral library. There are, however, frequent references to the manor and advowson in the later registers of Abbots Braunch, Newton and Parker, 1500-1540.

1st October, 21st Henry VII., 1505, Abbot Braunch granted the reversion of a lease of two water mills at Buckland and Laberton, a messuage called Turner's at Dunthill's, three closes called Domfield at Smith Hill, with the multure, or toll for grinding the corn, of the tenants, then in the tenure of Agnes Hap, to Adam Lye and his wife Margaret for 99 years, terminable on their deaths. Rent 27s.[5]

[1] *Ibid.* No. 911. [2] *Ibid.* Nos. 912, 913, 914. [3] *Ibid.* No. 915.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 909. [5] Braunch's MS. Register No. 106.

25th May, 15th Henry VIII. 1523. The same premises were leased to Adam Lye, wife Margaret, son John and daughter Catherine at same rent for 99 years, if they should live so long.[1]

10th May, 24th Henry VIII. 1532. The same premises were leased to William Stephens, James Stephens and John Hancock, and are said to have been held of late by Richard Osborne. The lessees agree to build a new mill. The lease is for 80 years, terminable on the death of the survivor. The rent is 28s., suit of court, and heriot 10s.[2]

22nd May, 30th Henry VIII. 1538. The same premises were granted to William Stephens and Alice Sitche for 77 years absolute.[3]

26th Sept., 13th Henry VIII. 1518. The site of the manor of Buckland was leased to James Appery, wife Joan, son Robert and daughter Katherine, together with all lands and buildings then in demesne, for a term of 31 years, if the survivor of the lessees should live so long, at an annual rent of £26 3s. 8d. to be paid half yearly in two equal portions. The lessees were to pay the Abbot of Winchcombe 6/8 for his claim as Farmer of the Hundred of Kippisgate and to give the chamberlain (camerarius) a fine boar at Christmas, or to pay him 10s. at his election. They were to receive annually at the hands of the said chamberlain, after the feast of S. Martin, November 11th, thirty capons, and to fatten them for him against *lez capon fest.*

They were to keep the buildings in good repair and to entertain in a hospitable manner for three or four nights twice a year the chamberlain and the steward with their men and horses.

The lessees were to have sufficient housebote, haibote, plough bote and cartbote—that is wood to repair their buildings, hedges, ploughs and carts with—from the abbot's wood at Buckland,

The abbot reserved the power to distrain if the rents were not paid within fifteen days after falling due. He also reserved a chapel at Laberton and Buckland Wood with right of ingress and egress.[4]

[1] Parker's MS. Register, Vol. I., No. 266.
[2] Ibid., Vol. II., No. 103. [3] Ibid., No. 311.
[4] Ibid., Vol. I., No. 133, and *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. III., p. 299.
Rudge states in his *History of the County of Gloucester*, Vol. I, p. 25, that "an ancient chapel" at Laberton "is converted into a house for the poor."

This lease is followed by an inventory, drawn up by William Motlow, then chamberlain, of the goods which belonged to the manor and which the lessees agreed to take at a valuation.

This inventory is interesting as giving in fullest details the household furniture, live stock and implements required by a farmer in the early part of the 16th century :—

Stuff of husbandry prisid

Imprimis,	two yron weyns	Item,	two weyne ropis
Item,	eight yokys	,,	two ox plowys
,,	a yron bownd cart	,,	the purtnance
,,	six hors colors	,,	two ox harowis
,,	six traces	,,	two small harows
,,	five molen halters	,,	a wynd tresell and gabull
,,	eight towys		Price 3l 16s 8d

Stuff of the dorter and lez bowr

Item,	a matres		Item,	a tapestri coverlet lynyd with canvas	13s 4d
,,	a fetherbed				
,,	a bolster		,,	Six quoshyns	8s
,,	a peir of shetis	Price 30s	,,	a fire peke and a chafer	2s 4d
,,	a white bed		,,	a matres aud a bolster	4s 8d
,,	three curtens		,,	a peire of hurden shetis	6s 8d
,,	a litill coverlet		,,	three coverlettis	7s

Stuff of the day and meyny

Item,	three matres		9s
,,	two bolsters		
,,	a bordclothe		

Stuff the kechyn

Item,	twelve platers		Item,	two brasen pottis	22s 4d
,,	six podingers	9s	,,	a small posnet	
,,	four sawsers		,,	two metly pannys	

Quycke catall prisid

Item,	sixteen oxen	12l	Item,	five horsis for the cart	3l 3s 4d
,,	sixteen keen and heifers	8l	,,	a mare with a fole	
,,	a bole	10s	,,	six storing pyggis	6s
,,	three yong heifers and bullockes	9s	,,	Six other pyggis	3s
,,	eleven store shepe	18l	,,	eight bakyn pyggis	13s 4d
			,,	four store hoggetis	4l 6s 4d

quycke stuf unprisid :

Item,	a boore	Item,	a sow for store
,,	fourteen dookes and drakes	,,	two cockes
,,	three gese and a gander	,,	four poyhens and a pecoke
,,	six capyns and hennys		

Stuf in lez bowre unprisid :

Item,	two tabill bordis	Item,	a litill cubbord covered with red say
,,	a volyn borde	,,	a pelow
,,	four trestles	,,	two bedstedis ropid
,,	two cubbordes	,,	three cherys
,,	two redsais	,,	two peyntid clothis
,,	three formys	,,	oon cloth of bucram
,,	a presse		
,,	a blew clothe		

Stuf of the lardur and deire unprisid :

Item,	a bulfyn whiche	Item,	a here seefe, a bulter
,,	a vate	,,	a cheesewryng
,,	a long skele	,,	a peise of ledd
,,	three rownd skelis		

Stuf of the buttre unprised

Item,	a stond	Item,	a trow to pownd verges
,,	two ale barels	,,	a tankard
,,	two trestels	,,	a save to kepe mete ynne
,,	a bord	,,	a gret brasspott
,,	a verge barell		

Stuff of the kechyn unprisid :

Item,	a brasen mortar	Item,	a litil broche
,,	a pestell	,,	two yron brandyars
,,	a skemer	,,	a barre of yron
,,	a gredyron	,,	two cheyns
,,	a stone morter	,,	two formys
,,	two standyng vates	,,	three stolis
,,	three pailis	,,	a ladyll
,,	two rackis	,,	twelve trenchers
,,	two longbrochis	,,	two coels

Stuf of the garden unprisid :

Item,	a busshell	Item,	a stricklase
,,	two old baggis		

Stuf of the yeat house unprisid :

Item,	three rakys	Item,	a cart rope
,,	three yevels	,,	a drag rope
,,	two dong forkis		

Grane of all maner for seed :

Item,	a wey and halffe and three measures of whete	Item,	four wey and six busshels of barley [1]
,,	six wey and six bushels of puls		

29th Sept., 24th Hen. VIII. 1532. The same site was released to James ap Harry, wife Joan, son James and daughter Katherine for 61 years on lives at the same rental and with like reservations.[1]

[1] *Hist. et Cart.*, Vol. III., p. 302.

[2] Parker's Register, Vol. II., No. 126.

2nd June, 30th Henry VIII. 1538. The reversion of the same site was granted to Sir William Kingston, Knight, and Dame Mary his wife, for 81 years after obtaining possession—rent, &c., the same.[1]

29th Sept. 20th Hen. VIII. 1528 The reversion of a parcel of demesne land, lying on the pasture on the west of the Rectory, called ye Layns, 4 acres of arable land in Buckland Field, near the way to Hynton, in the tenure of Thomas Tanty, and a parcel of land in the Park was granted to James ap Harry, wife Joan, sons James and Robert and daughter Catherine for 60 years after possession on their lives. Rent for land in Park 2s., for residue 23s. 10d. suit of court, heriot, &c.[2]

10th August, 22nd Henry VIII. 1530. A lease of land at Laberton, called Gares, a close called Aberhill and 4 sellions in Pennyland next Wickwane, late in tenure of Richard Honyngton, were granted to Richard Fisher, son Thomas and Agnes Warkman for 61 years on their lives—Rent for Gares and Aberhill, 23s. 7d., and for Pennyland 20s. 4¼d. Suit of court and heriot of best beast.[3]

4th August, 25th Henry VIII. 1533. A release of the same was granted to Richard Fisher, sons Henry and Thomas and Richard Workman.[4]

25th March, 25th Henry VIII. 1532. A messuage, one virgate and three quarters of a virgate, and 9 sellions of land were leased to John Blesard, wife Margery and sons Robert and Richard for 61 years on their lives. Rent 29s. 2d., heriot 13s. 4d.[5]

25th March, 25th Henry VIII. 1532. A messuage and parcel of land called Dockham, and 16 sellions called Pennyland with way of easement beyond Abrell ditch were leased to William Freeman, wife Katherine, son Richard, daughter Joan & Richard's son William for 61 years on their lives. Rent for messuage 22s. 6d., for Dockham 3s. 4d., and for Pennyland 1s. 4d. Suit of court and heriot.[6]

[1] Parker's Register, Vol. II, No. 309.
[2] Ibid., No. 10.
[3] Ibid. No. 68 and 136.
[4] Ibid, No. 136.
[5] Ibid, No. 104.
[6] Ibid, No. 105.

30th Sept. 25th Henry VIII. 1533. The Reversion of the Stewardship of the Manors of Buckland, Hinton and Clifford, when it should become vacant through the death of William Dingley, was granted to Richard Greenhill.[1]

25th Sept. 27th Henry VIII. 1535. The reversion of this office was granted to William Walter after the death of William Dingley.[2]

In 32nd Henry VIII. 1541-2. The accounts of John Arnold, the King's Receiver for the manors of the dissolved Abbey of S. Peter's, show that Andrew Harryes was then bailiff of Buckland.[3] He was probably a son of James Appery, who still held the lease of the site of the manor.[3]

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* containing Returns made by the Commissioners, who in 1535 were appointed by Henry VIII. to ascertain the true value of church property[4] the value of the manor of Buckland and Laverton (written Staverton by mistake) is thus given:

Rec^{s}	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Rentals of customary tenants -	42	1	1			
Rent of Site of Manor - -	19	0	0			
Rent of Water Mills - -	1	8	0	70	10	9
Perquisites of court - - -		1	8			
Portion of tithes of garb and grain -	8	0	0			
Pays						
Pay^{t} to the queen by the hands of the steward of Brymesfield - -		5	0			
Salary of William Dingley gent. steward - - - -	2	0	0			
Alms distributed to the poor at the Lord's supper, cash L 2 s. 0 d. 0, bread 13 s. 4 d., venison 3 s. 4 d., fish 3 s. 4 d., according to the legacy of Wolstan formerly Bishop of Worcester[4]	3	0	0	6	5	0
Nett annual value - -				£63	5	9

[1] Parker's Register, Vol. II., No. 137. [2] Ibid, No. 155.

[3] Receiver's Account, P.R.O.

[4] Printed by the Record Commissioners in 1810 in six volumes, folio.

On the 4th of January, 1539-40, the Prior and Monks of St. Peter's surrendered the abbey and all its possessions into the hands of the King's commissioners, Robert Southwell, Edward Carne, Richard Gwent, John London, William Berners, John Arnold, John ap Rice and Richard Porter.

The accounts of the King's Receiver, John Arnold, for the year 1540, show the total receipts of the manor for that year to be £71 2s. 7½d. and the outgoings to be £5 5s. 4d.[1]

The manor remained in the hands of the King's Receiver till 1546, when it was granted to Sir Richard Gresham in exchange for lands in Yorkshire.

THE ADVOWSON OF BUCKLAND RECTORY.

The following List of Institutions to the Rectory of Buckland has been kindly extracted for the Society by the Revd. T. P. Wadley :—

RECTORS OF BUCKLAND.

From the Registers of Institution at Worcester.

1349. July 2. Master Roger de Middilton, presbiter, to the church of Bokkelond, vacant by the death of Sir John the last rector ; presented by the Abbot and convent of St. Peter at Gloucester. Register of Bishop Wolstan de Braunsford, ii., 15.

1372. Jan. 27. Master Robert de la More,[2] rector of Bokelond, in the diocese of Worcester, exchanges with William de Fountaynes, rector of Bourghton, in the same diocese. Register of Bishop Lynne, 18.

1390. Nov. 5. Master John Forstall, clerk, bachelor in laws, to the vacant church of Boklond ; presented by the Abbot and convent of St. Peter at Gloucester. Register of Bishop Wakefield, 68.

1396. Sept. 25. Sir Thomas Ollynton ; chaplain, to the vacant church of Bokkelond ; presented by the Abbot and convent of St. Peter at Gloucester. Register of Bishop Wynchecombe, 10.

[1] Minister's accounts P.R.O.

[2] Mr. Robert More, learned in the law, is mentioned as being present at the election of Walter Leah as Prior of Worcester, A.D. 1373.

1466. Sept. 12. Master William Grafton, master in arts, to the parish church of Bokelond, vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Mason ; presented by the Abbot and convent at Gloucester. Register of Bishop Carpenter, i., 204.[1]

1510. May 11. Master Robert Haldesworth, doctor in theology and decrees, to the parish church of Bukland, vacant by the death of Master William Grafton, the last rector ; presented by the Abbot and convent of St. Peter at Gloucester. Register of Bishop Silvester de Gigliis, 64.[2]

1515. Oct. 5. Thomas Parker, bachelor in arts, to the parish church of Bokelond, vacant by the resignation of Master Robert Haldesworth, the last rector; presented by the Abbot and convent of St. Peter at Gloucester. Register of Bishop Silvester de Gigliis, 143.[3]

Dr. Haldesworth was the Bishop's vicar general in spirituals in the year 1508 ; and in 1515, Oct. 20, he was admitted to the incumbency of the parish church of the blessed Mary of Berkeley, vacant by the death of Sir Robert Wodward, last vicar ; patrons, the Abbot and convent of St. Augustine of Bristol.

[1] William Grafton rebuilt the Parsonage House and gave the East Window of the church. On two panels of painted glass in the hall of the Parsonage House on a shield is a tun or cask with a graft or branch of an apple tree issuing out of it, designed as a rebus, and below is written 'William Grafton, Rector.' The East Window, one of the most interesting windows in existence, representing three of the sacraments of the Roman Church, Baptism, Marriage and Extreme Unction, probably contains several portraits of the parents of William Grafton.

[2] 3rd April, 1510. Abbot Braunch, on the death of William Grafton, the last Rector ; presented Robert Holdesworth, Doctor in Divinity, to the Rectory of Buckland.—Braunch's MS. Register, No. 179.

[3] See also Parker's Register I., Nos. 43, 44, 45. 4th October, 1515, Thomas Parker gave a note of hand to the Abbot for £40 as follows :— "The condition of the obligation is that if the above bounde Thomas Parker discharge and save harmless the above named Abbot & the Convent of the same Monastery for the payment of £16 of lawful money of England granted by the said Abbot and Convent by virtue of annuity under their convent seal to Doctor Robert Holdesworth for the performance of a pension of the church of Buckland that under this obligation be void, or else to stand in its full power strength and effect."

1529. March 12. Master Robert Welshe, bachelor in decrees, to the parish church of Buckland, vacant by the resignation of Master Walter Blount, last incumbent there ; presented by John Parker "laicus," of the diocese of Hereford, patron for this one turn by the grant of the Abbot and convent of St. Peter at Gloucester. Register of Jeronimus de Ghinuciis, 7 ; entered again on folio 41 in the same register.[1]

1533. Sept. 28. William, Abbot of the monastery of St. Peter of Gloucester, grants, for one turn on the next vacancy, the presentation to the parish church of Buckelond, to Thomas Evance of Worcester, gentleman, and Robert Stynchcombe of Gloucester, clerk, and to their assigns. Register of Jeronimus de Ghinuciis 76.[2]

In 1546 the advowson of Buckland Rectory passed with the manor into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham.

[1] 15th June, 1522. The Abbot presented Walter Blount, chaplain, to the Rectory of Buckland, on the resignation of Thomas Parker. Parker's MS. Register I. No. 223. Robert Walshe was Rector of Buckland in 1541. Receiver's accounts P.R.O.

[2] See also Parker's MS. Reg. II. No. 134.

NOTES ON AN EXCAVATION MADE NEAR EVESHAM.

By R. F. TOMES.

The following are the particulars of an excavation made on the 11th of July, 1884, in a low flat mound of earth at a place called "Dead Man's Ait," on the Evesham side of the Avon at the Offenham Ferry :—

The mound above mentioned has an oblong form, and has a length of about 100 yards and a breadth of about 8 or 10 yards; and it is so regular in outline as to suggest an artificial origin, while tradition distinctly affirms that it is the grave of the unfortunate fugitives who were overtaken and slaughtered when flying from the battle of Evesham. The tradition runs thus :— The fight being virtually over, and their leader slain, the followers of Simon de Montfort were endeavouring to make their escape by the bridge crossing the Avon, where the ferry now is, which having been destroyed, they were hemmed in, slain, and buried on the spot above indicated. The belief in this tradition has always been so strong that a former owner of the meadow persistently resisted every attempt to excavate and determine by actual examination the real nature of the mound, asserting that it would be nothing short of sacrilege to do so.

It was therefore with no inconsiderable interest that I obtained the consent of the present noble owner of the spot, the Duke d' Aumaule, and of the present occupier, Mr. Holland, and with the help of two excavators, made an opening into the very centre of the mound. The results of this sinking I will now give.

As soon as the turf was removed the soil was found to be a strong loam of a reddish colour, and before the depth of a foot had been obtained, one of the workmen, an experienced "navvy," who had long worked at excavating in the vale of Evesham, and

who was fully alive to the difference between moved and unmoved soil, declared that the earth in which he was then at work had never been stirred by artificial means—and so it proved. From that depth to the bottom of the sinking thin seams of sand mixed with comminuted river shells were observed, in precisely the stratified position in which they were deposited when the waters of the Avon flowed over the spot. At a depth of 4 ft. 10 ins. water came into the hole, and when this was taken out it was found to have flowed in through a bed of strong gravel beneath.

As a practical geologist of more than thirty years' standing, and fully acquainted with the deposits in the vale of the Avon, I can assert very definitely that the low flat mound in "Dead Man's Ait" was never formed by the hand of man, though from its very regular form it is more than probable that the ground around it has been taken away, leaving it in distinct relief from the surrounding surface.

The tradition, therefore, in the precise form in which it has been handed down to us, is not altogether consistent with facts, but I may perhaps be allowed to make a few suggestions as to its probable application to some other spot than the one now under notice.

If we look at the great nearness of the bridge to the high ground on which the battle was fought, we shall not fail to observe that the destruction of the bridge over the Avon at Dead Man's Ait must have been apparent at once, and most certainly before the fugitives approached so nearly to the spot as to have been hemmed in by their pursuers, as we are told they were.

Must we not then look to some other and perhaps more distant spot as the scene of their destruction? And if a distance of twelve or fourteen miles were not too great, might not the thousands of skeletons which lie buried at Milcote, two miles short of Stratford, and only a little way from one of the fords of the Avon, be those of the flying multitudes escaping from the battle of Evesham? Such a suggestion was indeed made in 1866, when a great many of those remains were exhumed and their crania found to be those of a mixed race, like the English of the present day,

and more especially when it was also discovered that, with only one or two exceptions, the skeletons were those of men in the prime of life, and men of considerable stature. As I saw some hundreds exposed, at this remarkable burying place, I can distinctly state that such was the case.

THE ALMONRY OF EVESHAM ABBEY.

By E. S. RIDSDALE.

So scanty are the existing remains of the once famous Abbey of Evesham, "the late abbey," as Leland described it in his 'Itinerary,' that the smallest portions cannot but be traced with interest by the antiquary. The entrance arch of the vestibule to the chapter house, and the beautiful bell tower, command the admiration of every casual visitor; but for the curious there are still a few traces of the conventual buildings, though only of the humblest kind. One alone now exists which exhibits any of its original features; and this is the Almonry, or Almery, where the almoner distributed public alms, and where guests were accommodated for the night. In some cases it contained a school for the education of the youth of the town, and, according to May, provision was made in the Almonry at Evesham for boarding certain of the scholars who were educated at the Grammar School built by Abbot Lichfield.[1]

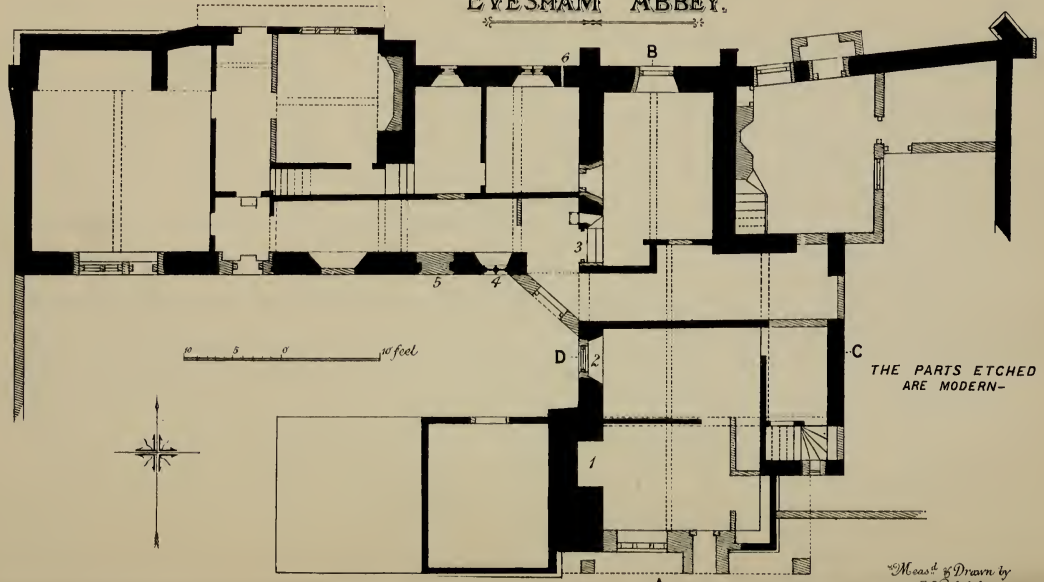
The present remains are a range of quaint-looking buildings situated at the south-east corner of Merstow Green and facing Vine Street. To the north-east stands a large house, or rather two houses, which occupy the site of "the great gatehouse," once "as large and stately as any at this time in the kingdom;" so wrote Abingdon in 1640. On the south-east are the remains of the abbot's stable, now converted into cottages.

At the Dissolution of the monastery, the almonry was reserved for the use of Abbot Hayford, or Hawford, for his life, and is then described thus: "the lodging or building called the Almonry adjoining to the gate at the comynge unto the said late monastre on the north, upon the Lord's stable on the south, upon the Basse

[1] "He was a scholar in the said town, and did board in the said Amery of the said monastery before the dissolution thereof: in the time of one Clement Lichfield, being then Abbot,"—*Deposition of John Wilkes, in Hoby v. Kighley.*

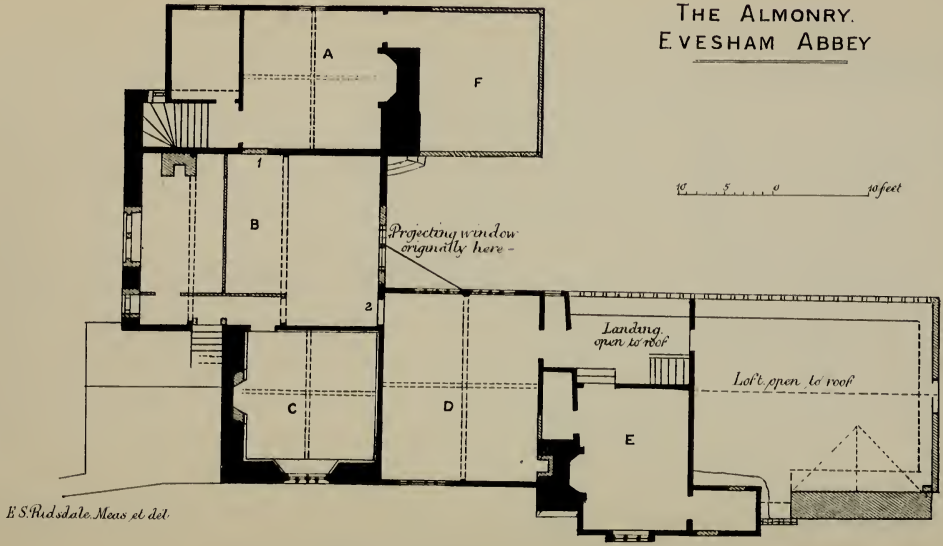
GROUND PLAN OF THE ALMONRY, EVESHAM ABBEY.

Plate X.



LAVARS LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL

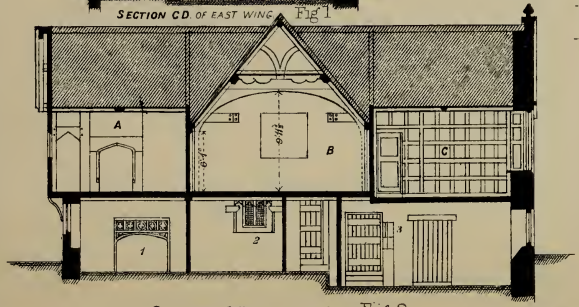
THE ALMONRY. EVESHAM ABBEY



FIRST FLOOR PLAN.

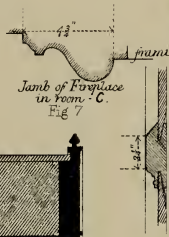
THE ALMONRY, EVESHAM ABBEY.

SECTION CD OF EAST WING Fig 1

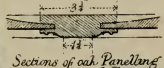


SECTION AB OF EAST WING Fig 2

Tracery found in room B. Fig 5



Jamb of Fireplace in room C. Fig 7



Sections of oak Panelling in room C. Fig 6.

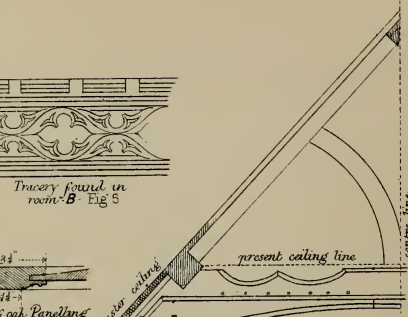


Fig 3.

OPEN TIMBERED ROOF OF ROOM B

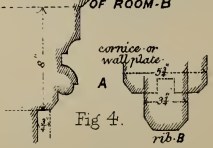
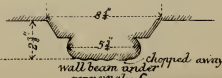


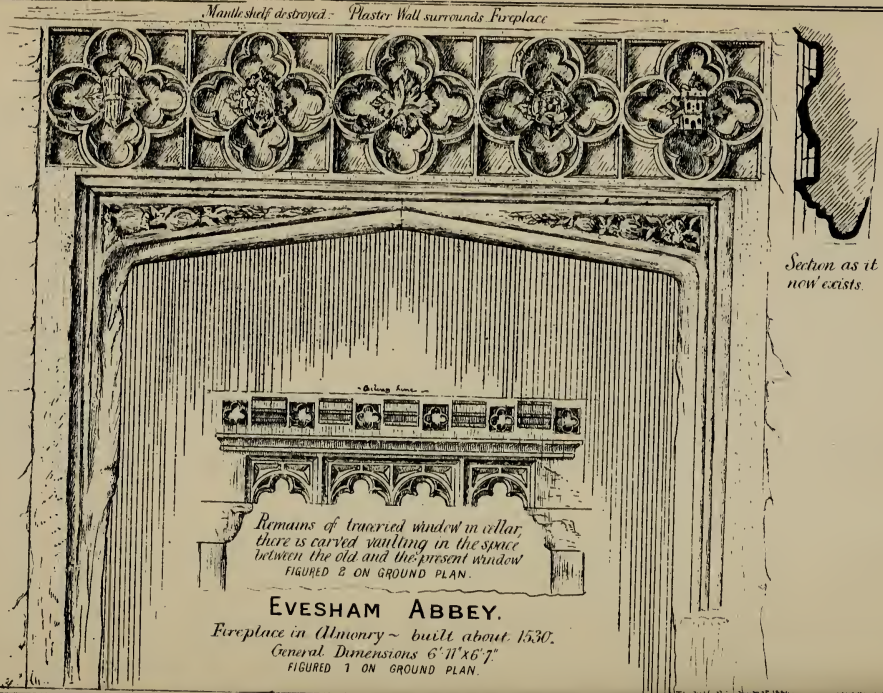
Fig 4.

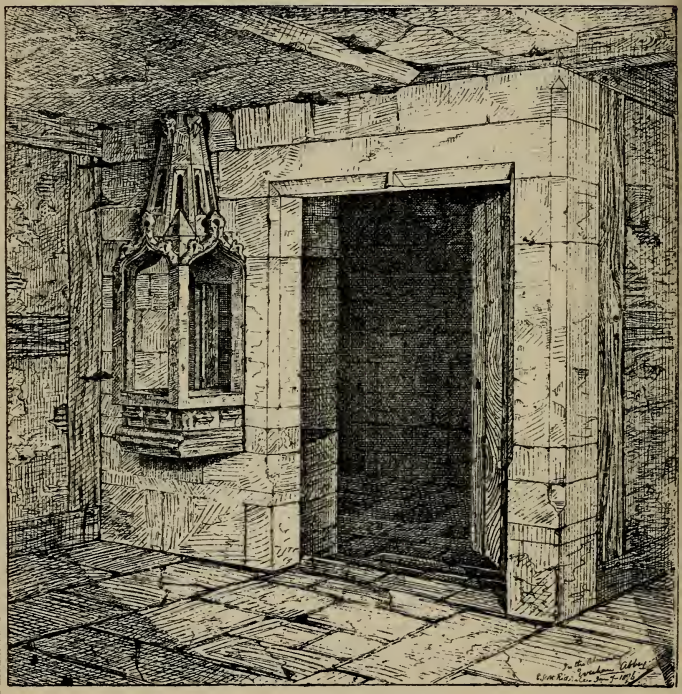


LAVARS LITH. BROAD ST BRISTOL

E.S. Rudstale meas et del.

Pl. XIII.


Mantle shelf destroyed. Plaster Wall surrounds Fireplace
Section as it now exists.
Remains of traceried window in cellar, there is carved vaulting in the space between the old and the present window
FIGURED 2 ON GROUND PLAN.
EVESHAM ABBEY.
Fireplace in Almonry ~ built about 1530.
General Dimensions 6'.11"x6'.7"
FIGURED 1 ON GROUND PLAN.
T. Locke Worthington del. 1884.
LAVARS, LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL.



In the Almonry,
EVESHAM ABBEY.

TAVARS, LITH, BROAD ST BR

Plate XV.

The Almonry.
EVESHAM ABBEY.

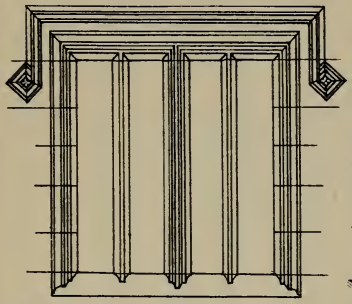
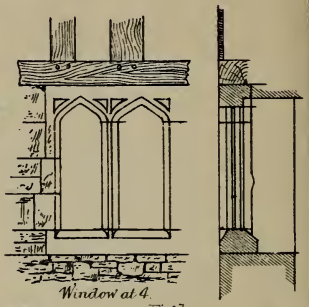


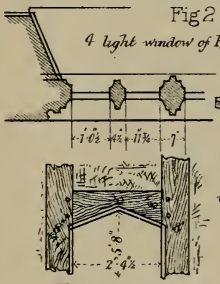
Fig 2

4 light window of Room C.



Window at 4.

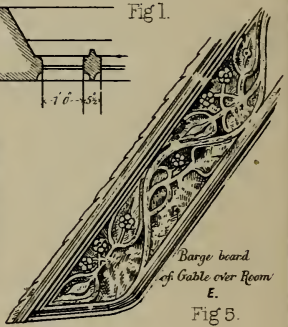
Fig 1.



Head of doorways in Wood partitions Fig 7.

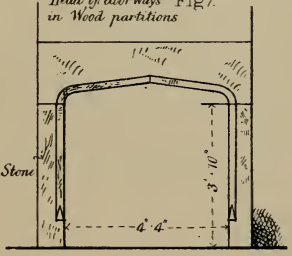
Bracket under overhanging Storey of Room E.

Fig 6.



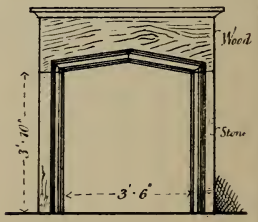
Barge board of Gable over Room E.

Fig 5.



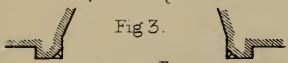
Fireplace in Room A

Fig 3.



Fireplace in Room E.

Fig 4.



.. 6½ glazed Encaustic Tile in this hearth

E S Ridsdale-meas et del

0 1 2 3 4 5 feet.

LAVARS LITH PRINT ST BRISTOL

Court towards the Este, and upon the Barton gate towards the west, with one garden called the Almery garden, one great court or yard called the Almery courte, one Kechyn, ij stables."

The only drawings that I know to exist of this interesting relic, are a ground plan to a small scale given by Rudge in his plan of the excavations which he made in the years 1811-34, and a small wood-cut view of the courtyard given in May's History of Evesham and here introduced *(fig. 8)*.

Fig. 8.

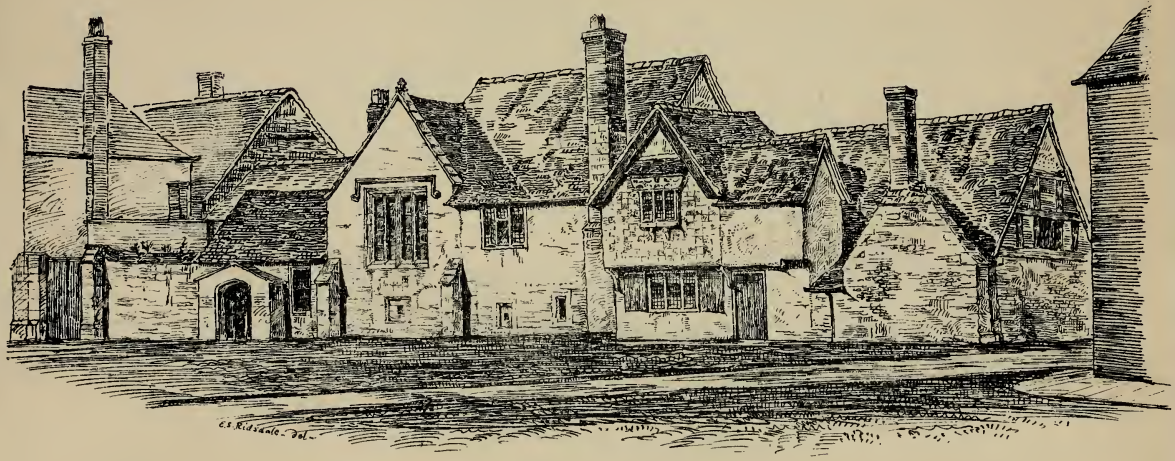
I have therefore carefully measured the whole of the existing buildings, and present my readers with the following illustrations, viz. : *Pls. X. and XI.*, ground and first-floor plans of the Almonry as it now exists. *Pl. XII., figs. 1 and 2*, sections A. B. and C. D. of the east wing. *Figs. 3, 4 and 5* details of the open-timbered roof of room B on first floor plan. *Pl. XIII.* the carved fire-place at 1, and the window with traceried and canopied head at 2 on the ground plan. *Pl. XIV.*, the lantern at 3 on ground plan. *Pl. XV., fig. 1*, details of the two-light window at 4 on ground plan. *Fig. 2*, the four-light window of the so-called "Abbot's parlour," marked C on first-floor plan. *Figs. 3 and 4*, the two interesting fireplaces in rooms A and E. *Figs. 5 and 6*, details of the carved barge-boards and brackets to overhanging gable of

room E on first-floor plan. *Fig. 7*, detail of the head of all the original doorways in the wood partitions. *Pl. XVI.*, north-west view of the Almonry facing Merstow Green. *Pl. XVII.*, south-east view facing the garden. These drawings contain everything that is of interest in the present building, and will thoroughly explain the arrangement and architectural character of this interesting relic of the old abbey. I shall therefore confine myself to pointing out any peculiarity not sufficiently shown by the accompanying drawings.

The whole of the present structure is of Perpendicular work, and in the absence of documentary evidence, it is impossible to assign it as the work of any one abbot who lived while this particular style was in vogue. I was in hopes I should have discovered some vestige of Abbot Cheryton's work, 1317-1344, who is recorded to have built and crenellated the barton or farm-yard gate, which was situated to the west of the Almonry. "Cheryton Portam in Bertona versus villam et bene desuper crenellatum et ab illâ portâ ad fluvium Avene abbaciam ex illâ parte muro lapideo bene munivit, Fecit et ij Portas contiguous versus gardina cum j camerâ desuper honestissime situata."[1] We also read "Barton gate with a dove-house in the towre of the same gate and all the range of buildings called the storehouse, abutting upon the towre of the abbey gate north, and the garner south, and upon the almery west, with all the other buildings, romes and chambers, ways, course and recourse belonging to the said Almery."[2]

The only probable trace of this Barton gate is a slight projection in the extreme west wall next the large kitchen fire-place, which seems to indicate the continuation of a wall that would cross the lane (now called Little Abbey Lane), and may possibly be the remains of the jamb of the gateway erected by Abbot Cheryton, and would be in a line with the boundary wall erected by him, which extended down to the river, considerable portions of which are still extant.

[1] M.S. Harl. 3763, p. 174. [2] Monasticon, p. ii, 43.



THE ALMONRY ~ EVESHAM ABBEY ~ N.W. PROSPECT

LAVARS. LITH, BROAD ST BRISTOL.

THE ALMONRY- EVESHAM ABBEY,
South-East Prospect.

Upon examining the ground-plan, *Pl. X*, and the drawing of the lantern, *Pl. XIV.*, it is evident that the portion of the Almonry buildings under rooms A, B and C, *Pl. XI*, and which may be called the east wing—was erected prior to the rest of the building, and must have been detached, as evidenced from traces of a return buttress in the front or north wall at the north-west angle under room C; this I have endeavoured to show by a white line at 6 on ground plan. The modern doorway also next the lantern has once been a two-light mullioned window, proving that this must have been at some time an outside wall, and the walls of this east wing are thicker than those of the north wing.

Nearly the whole of the inner sub-division walls on the ground-floor are of timber construction, and contain several of their original doorways, which are all of the same type, *fig. 7*, *Pl. XV.* but the doors themselves have been destroyed. Several of these partitions are not original, having been added to convert the building into three tenements. Some appear, from the existence of mortice holes, to be constructed of materials that have been used before. The two-light mullioned window at 4, *Pl. X.* and *fig. 1*, *Pl. XV.*, is interesting, as probably being originally intended to have opening wood casements fitted inside, there is a projection on the mullion, evidently intended to receive a bolt. At *5*, *Pl. X*, are traces of an original external doorway, but the head has been removed, the large kitchen fire-place with an opening of 11 ft. 6 ins. has a noble mantel beam of elm 18 ins. deep. The large beam crossing the ceiling is original, and is stop-chamfered. Nearly the whole of the internal and external walls of the first floor are of timber. In room A, *Pl. XI*, is an original fireplace of stone *Pl. XV*, *fig, 3*, and in the hearth I found a glazed encaustic tile 6½ins. square, much worn; by the side of this fireplace is an original doorway leading to a room marked F on plan, now used as a loft; on the exposed rafters of which are still traces of a lath and plaster ceiling. The beams crossing the ceiling of room A are chamfered. Room B, *Pl. XI*, has an open timbered roof, *Pl. XII*, *figs. 3 & 4*, the timbers of which, as well as the timber framed walls, have evidently been painted red. According to the

view given in May's History of Evesham *fig. 8*, ante 129, this room possessed an oriel, or projecting window, at the west end, overlooking the courtyard, and the present tenants remember this window being taken down. There are no traces of an original fireplace in this room, but it is probable from the position of the two framed principals, the appearance of the east end wall, and the finish of the east gable, that it may originally have been of greater length. There were traces found of a doorway leading to room A, and also one leading to room D, marked 1 & 2 on *Pl. XI.* A large quantity of perforated and embattled wood tracery 8 ins. wide was found in this room, a drawing of which is given *Pl. XII, fig. 5.* According to *Rudge's* History of Evesham, p. 63, a portion of the Almonry towards the east was taken down about the year 1786. Room C is lined with oak panelling, *Pl. XII., fig. 2 & 6*, the beams crossing the ceiling are chamfered and measure 5 in. wide by 3 in. deep, and show traces of having been painted red. The fire-place of wood, is of Elizabethan character, but not its original width, *fig. 7*, *Pl. XII.* This room was commonly called by Rudge the abbot's parlour, and probably may have been used as such by Hayford, to whom the Almonry was granted by Henry VIII. Room B has two original windows overlooking the courtyard, but now blocked up, the mullions are moulded on the outside ; the mullions of the window overlooking Merstow Green are moulded on the inside, and square outside ; the beams crossing the ceiling are moulded, the wall beams being bracketted out to receive them ; there are no traces of an original fireplace in this room. Room C has an original fireplace with moulded stone jambs and a moulded wood mantel beam, *Pl. XV, fig. 4*, the ceiling of this room is wagon-headed, being half way up the roof, but has no moulded beams ; the mullions of the projecting window are chamfered inside and square outside ; the windows of the closet opening out of this room are blocked up. The landing is open to the roof, the rafters not being ceiled. The roof of the loft over the kitchen is modern and unceiled. The whole of the ceilings throughout are plastered. I could not find any trace of an original staircase to the upper storey, those now existing are of wood, and quite modern. The lantern, *Pl. XVI,*

I consider a puzzle, it may possibly have served the purpose of distributing doles, as Mackenzie Walcott suggests, or used as a lantern to light the passage enclosing it at night, there is a hole in the base where the spike of a sconce could be inserted—but it is not in its original position ; the upper part of the pinnacle is cut off, so as to accommodate it to the low ceiling under which it is placed, the wall at the back is cut away to admit of the projecting crockets and the arched canopy of the opening, and from the appearance of the jambs next the wall it would seem to have been inserted, and not part and parcel of the wall to which it is now attached ; the small wooden door enclosing it is modern. I have no doubt that after the dissolution it was removed from some part of the abbey and inserted here ; probably it may have been the lantern for lighting the Monks' dormitory.

In conclusion I sincerely hope that this interesting relic of the Abbey of Evesham may long be preserved to future archæologists.

THE MANOR & BOROUGH OF CHIPPING CAMPDEN.

BY THE REV. S. E. BARTLEET, M.A.

I HAVE found so much to write about this little Cotteswold town that I have been obliged to limit myself as strictly as possible to the subject indicated in the title of this paper. I have therefore only mentioned the church, and the various chantries connected with it, where some notice of them has been called for in giving the history of the manor and borough; and I have inserted no list of incumbents of the church or chantries, and given no account of any of them, or of any matters which relate only to the church.

If the editor of these Transactions will give me space in some future volume I shall hope to take up that part of my subject which I have been compelled for the present to omit, and give some detailed account of the Advowson and Church of Campden.[1]

There is nothing known of the very early history of the town beyond what its name suggests. It is derived from two Anglo-Saxon words,—*Camp*, meaning *battle*, and *den*, or *dene*, a *valley*, generally a wooded valley, or a depression in a wood. The name, therefore, signifies *the vale of battle*, and is derived, doubtless, from some great conflict in early Saxon times. Campden lies almost between two important camps,—one at Willersey, with its outpost at Saintbury, and the other on Meon Hill,—and would be a very natural battle-field for hostile armies occupying them. I have not been able to find in any of the old Chronicles the record of a conflict which I can identify with that which has given its name to this upland dene, but I think it may probably be one of several, of which the battle of Cirencester was the last, by which Penda, King of Mercia, wrested the Hwiccas,—the inhabitants of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire,—from Wessex, and added them

[1] It will give us much pleasure to insert another Memoir from Mr. Bartleet on the Church of Campden.—ED.

to his own kingdom of Mercia.[1] Berington, one of the hamlets of the parish, has been regarded as so called from being the *burying place* of the slain. I incline, however, to derive its name from another circumstance. In all the earliest records and charters it is written *Byriton*, or *Byrton*, and I think it must mark the site of the *byr*, or *burh*,—the fortified house that is,—of an early Saxon lord. What is still called the Court is in this hamlet, as is also the church; and I should suppose that the *byr* of the Saxon lord of Campden, the court of the Norman and subsequent holders of the manor, and the mansion built by Sir Baptist Hickes in the reign of James I., have all occupied very much the same site; and that the residence of the earliest lord of Campden gave it the name which it has since, with but slight variation, borne, of the *tun*,—the enclosure or home,—of the lord's *byr*.

I have found nothing which very plainly indicates the existence of any settlement at Campden in British or Roman times, except that Roman coins have been not unfrequently found there, and Roman and British coins in some numbers in the neighbourhood. The ancient Buggilde Street ascends the Cotteswolds very near to Campden, and it is not impossible there may have been some village there in pre-Saxon times. If it were so I should be inclined to conjecture that the hamlet of Combe was its site. Combe is a place-name which, though adopted by the Saxons, is of British origin, as *cwm*, meaning valley. The hamlet so called in the parish of Campden lies just beneath the camp of Willersey, and would be a not unlikely site for a British village.

Westington, another hamlet in Campden, shews by its name its Anglo-Saxon origin. It must have been at first the settlement, or *tun*, of the Westing. Possibly Wessington, in Derbyshire, may mark another settlement of the same family. When a large part of Campden was uncultivated down,—furze and heath it is called in records which will be quoted presently,—Westington and a portion of Berington, or "Byriton," was divided into homesteads, and was the abode of most of the customary tenants of the manor.

[1] The Making of England, by J. R. Green, p. 267.

The name of a fourth hamlet, Broad Campden,—called sometimes in early records Little Campden (Parva Campoduna),—needs no explanation. This, as will be seen presently, was at an early period separated from the chief manor. Until comparatively recent times much of it was unenclosed common, but there were at least a few tenants holding land there as early as the beginning of the 13th century.

The first actual connection of Campden with history is described in "an ancient booke, written by one John Castoreus, or Beuer, sometime monk of Westminster, who lived in the time of Edward III." The MS. of this Chronicle is, I believe, in the British Museum, but I cannot find that it has ever been edited, and I give a portion of the extract relating to Campden as I find it quoted in Powel's "Cambria."

"About the year of grace 689 Iuor and Henyr, sonnes of the daughter of Cadwalader, sometime King of Brytaine, came over from Ireland, and taking to their aid the two kings of Wales, distroied the prouince of Chester, and sent messengers to the Saxon kings commanding them to restore again to the Brytaines the countrie of Lhoyger, out of which they had wrongfullie expelled their parents and ancestors; adding that if they would not so doo within fifteene daies they should not enioie it anie longer. The which message Inas, the noble King of Westsex, signified unto all the other Saxon kings, who soone met together in Mounte Campeden." The Chronicler goes on to tell how Sibertus, King of Essex, advises the choice of "a head to leade, direct, and governe vs, whom as chief lord in time of peace and warre we as members may obeie and sticke to. The rest of the Saxon kings," he goes on to say, "agreed vnto this mind, and with one assent chose that worthy knight Inas, King of Westsex, to be their souereigne; who, having taken their homage, aduanced his standard, and marched forth against Iuor and Henyr, and set upon them, and they were faine to forsake their tents and flie into Wales."

The story thus told must have been copied by John Castoreus from some earlier chronicle which has since perished, for I find

no confirmation of it in Bede, or the Saxon Chronicle, or elsewhere. There are difficulties in accepting it as it stands. "Mount Campeden," being within the territory of the Hwiccas, has not generally been regarded as at that time a part of Ine's kingdom of Wessex, and would therefore be unlikely to be the scene of a conference summoned by him. It is, however, possible that this border land between Mercia and Wessex may, in Ine's time, have admitted the latter's sovereignty. Essex, which had been Mercian, at that time passed under the West Saxon supremacy, and London was torn from Mercia, and owned Ine for lord. The Sibertus mentioned in the extract quoted was doubtless Sebbi, who was King of the East Saxons at that time. There is no doubt that, at the period ascribed to this council at Mount Campden, Ine was the most prominent of the Saxon princes, and his reign was occupied very much with wars with the British, and especially with Geraint, the British King of Devon and Cornwall. It is permissable, therefore, to think that the incident related by the monk of Westminster is founded on fact, and that the little Cotteswold town, whose history I am trying to give, was the scene of a council of some of the kings of the Saxon race, which resulted in an alliance under Ine, King of Wessex, against the still dangerous enemies who occupied the west of Britain.

The first detailed notice of Campden is in Domesday, and is as follows :—

"The same Earl (Earl Hugh) holds Campedene. Earl Harold held it. There are xv hides paying geld. In demesne there are vi carucates and L villeins and viii boors (bordarii) with xxi carucates. There are xii serfs, and ii mills paying vi^{s} ii^{d}. There are iii female serfs (ancille). It was worth xxx^{li} now xx^{li}."

It would appear from the above that Campden was a place of some importance, or at least of some considerable population, at the time of the Survey. I do not know if there is any single manor in Gloucestershire where the number of the "villani" recorded in Domesday is as great as fifty. The Saxon lord in the time of Edward the Confessor was no other than Earl Harold, afterwards King Harold. The Conqueror gave this, with many

other of his rival's manors, to Earl Hugh. This Hugh, known as Hugh Lupus, or the Wolf, was one of the most important of the barons who came with William from Normandy. He was a near kinsman of the Conqueror, and in 1070 was made Earl of Chester, and was held responsible for the northern portion of the Welsh border. In the year 1093 he expelled the secular canons from S. Werburgh's, Chester, and refounded it as a convent of Benedictine monks. He largely added to its endowments, and, among other benefactions, he gave to S. Werburgh the tithes, "not only of corn, but also of fowls, calves, swine, and lambs, and of butter and cheese, and everything titheable,"[1] in Campden and many other of his manors. These the Abbey of Chester held until the dissolution of the monasteries in 1538, though the right was not always unquestioned.

Earl Hugh, in his last illness, himself assumed the cowl at S. Werburgh's on July 24th, 1101, and, dying there three days afterwards, was buried in the abbey.

Richard, his only legitimate child, was seven years old at his father's death. He succeeded him in the earldom, and, as I suppose, in the lordship of Campden, but was drowned at Warfleet in the White Ship, with the only son of Henry I. and many other of the English nobles, in 1120.

Ranulph, called "le Meschin," or "the Mean," the son of Matilda, Hugh's sister, by Ranulph, Viscount of the Bessin, was next Earl, but he does not appear to have held the manor of Campden. He gave a large sum to Henry I. for the earldom, and it may be that Campden was parted with to assist in raising the money. More probably, however, it was retained by the King, and added to the earldom of Gloucester, which he had conferred on Robert, his illegitimate son by Nest. The manor soon again formed part of the barony of Chester, as it was given by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to his daughter Maud, on her marriage with Ranulph, son of Ranulph named above, who succeeded his father as Earl of Chester in 1199. A suit of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, 16th Edward I., will be noticed presently, which disputes, but

[1] Dugdale's Monasticon.

without effect, this alienation of Campden from his barony. The gift to Maud is clear, for in the Duchy of Lancaster Records there is a charter in which Ranulph de Gernons, Earl of Chester, notifies to the Bishop of Bangor, and all his barons and men, French, English and Welsh, that Robert, Earl of Gloucester, has given to Maud, his daughter, Countess of Chester, Campden, "et omnia eidem ville adjacentia," and that he, Ranulph, has confirmed the same to her.[1]

This Ranulph died, by poison, as it was believed, in 1153, and was succeeded by Hugh, surnamed Keveliok. Hugh gave, it is said,[2] his lordship of Combe, within the manor of Campden, to the Abbey of S. Mary, Bordesley, to maintain six monks perpetually, to pray for his good estate while living, and for his soul after his death, and for the souls of his father Ranulph, his grandfather Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and of his mother, and for all christian souls. There is no evidence, however, of Combe having been a cell to Bordesley, though it continued a grange of that abbey till its dissolution.

The grant is described by Dugdale and others as Hugh's, but it would rather appear to have been by Ranulph, his father. It is so described in a charter of Richard I. confirming benefactions to the abbey, and there is also a charter in which Maud, widow of Ranulph, and Hugh, their son, confirm the gift of Combe as one made by the said Ranulph.[3] This confirmation by Maud was necessary because, as has been already stated, Combe was part of her dowry, and her own personal right in it had been acknowledged by her husband.

Earl Hugh was one of the barons who joined the younger Henry in his rebellion against his father Henry II. ; and in 1173 he was taken prisoner at Dol, in Britany, deprived of his earldom, and his lands forfeited.[4] Campden was given at this time, I should suppose, to one Hugh de Gondeville. At the Council of Northampton, in 1147, Hugh Keveliok was restored to the earldom of

[1] Duchy of Lancaster Records. Grants in Boxes ; Box A, No. 65.

[2] Dugdale's Monasticon, Ed. 1846, Vol. V., p. 407.

[3] Dugdale's Monasticon. [4] Benedict of Peterborough, Vol. I., p. 57.

Chester, and to all his lands, except the castle of Chester.[1] The manor of Campden, however, must have been another exception in the restitution then made, as we find it in the possession of Hugh de Gondeville certainly as late as 1180.

This Hugh was apparently one of the most active and trusted ministers of Henry II. He was frequently with the King, as his name continually occurs as attesting royal charters between 1158 and 1177. In the former year he is noted as receiving 20 marks of silver "in corredio filii regis";[2] and again in 1162 he receives 3s. 6d. for purchasing cloth for the King's son.[3] He was one of the embassy to the Pope in the same year in the matter of the disputes with Becket.[4]

In 1170 he was at Winchester with the young King, when he received an order from Richard de Humez, Constable of Normandy, to go to Canterbury with a party of knights to arrest Becket; but the murder of the Archbishop rendered obedience to the order unnecessary. He was Sheriff of Northants and Southants; and, at the Council of Northhampton in January, 1175-6, he was appointed one of the justiciars for one of the six circuits into which England was then divided.[5] Probably the King was, at least on one occasion, the guest of his minister at his court at Campden, for the Pipe Roll, 31st Hen. II. (1185), records the payment from the honour of Gloucester, then in the King's hand, of 52s. 8d. for two tuns of wine sent to the King at Campden.

I give these particulars of Hugh de Gondeville because his connection with the manor is closer than that of previous lords. Very possibly he may have resided at Campden, which certainly the Earls of Chester never did, except for the few days when they held their courts. Any way he contributed in no small degree, we may believe, to the prosperity of what had already grown into a little town, by the gift of a charter whereby Campden became a borough.

[1] Benedict of Peterborough, Vol. I., p. 135.
[2] Pipe Roll, 4th Henry II., p. 157.
[3] Ibid., Mich., 8th Henry II.
[4] Eyton's Court and Household of Henry II., p. 75.
[5] Benedict of Peterborough, Vol. I, p. 107.

What were the terms of the charter we only know from a confirmation by Henry III., dated Westminster, 16th April, 1247, of "the grant by Hugh de Gundevill to the burgesses of burgages in the borough of Campeden, and the grant which Ranulph, formerly Earl of Chester, made to the same burgesses, that they and all who shall come to the market of Campden shall be quit of toll; and that if any of his free burgesses of Campeden shall fall into his amerciament, he shall be quit for xiid, unless he shall shed blood or do felony."[1]

It seems clear that under this charter, given by Hugh de Gondeville, and renewed by Ranulph de Blundville, Earl of Chester, who ultimately recovered the manor, Campden had a regular market. The prefix of *Chipping* may date from this time, though I do not find the place so described, in charters or other records, until a period considerably later.

Another act of de Gondeville's was the foundation of what, in records which follow, is called "the free chapel of S. Katharine within the court of Campeden." This took place while Baldwin held the see of Worcester, *i.e.* between 1180 and 1184. I quote the note in Bishop Wulstan's Register almost in full, as it records for us some Campden names of the twelfth century.

"Be it known, as well to present as future, that I, Gondeville, have given and granted, for the safety of my soul and the souls of my ancestors, three hides of land in the vill of Westington, with all their appurtenances, free and quit of all secular service, to the service of the chapel of blessed Virgin Katharine, which I have founded in my court of Campedene, in perpetual and pure alms; that is to say half a hide of land which William Ailwy holds, and a virgate of land which Hardyns holds, and a virgate which Levi holds, and a virgate which Aluered holds, and a virgate which William Collyns holds, and a virgate which Walter fitz Gumuld holds, and a virgate which Alured fitz Ralph holds, and a virgate which William fitz Walter holds, and a virgate which Avord fitz Hurbert holds, and a virgate which Anfrid fitz Suam holds, and a virgate which Geoffrey Clarke holds, from

[1] Charter Roll, 31st Henry III., m. 4.

the demesne messuage in the vill of Campedene before the gate of my court, that is to say from the messuage of Serlo the cook, to the house of Herbert Salins, deacon of the mother church. I have established also, by counsel and assent of clergy and laity, two priests in the said chapel, so that one priest shall hold 'in prebendam' a hide and a half, and the other a hide and a half, from the three hides aforesaid, by rendering to the mother church one pound of incense annually. This is done in the presence of Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester, by will of Osmund, the parson, so that the aforesaid chapel may have full liberty.

"I have given also to the mother church aforesaid of the manor Campedene, by this concession, the tithes of four mills of the said manor, which before it had not, in pure and perpetual alms.

"The presentation of the chaplains of the chapel aforesaid shall belong to my heirs; and when they are presented to the Bishop, and instituted by him, they shall swear fealty to the parson of the mother church, and that they will not usurp anything of oblations, or tithes, or other things belonging to the mother church, against the will of the parson."

There follow certain clauses concerning the residence of the chaplains, and the deed is then attested by Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester, Simon Luel, Richard Luel, William fitz Robert, Osmund de Campeden, William de Anaton, Ralph de Welneford, Aluered, William Custachius of Herfynton, Robert Mareschall, Roger the cook, Geoffrey of Ireland (Hibernicensis), Gilbert, &c.[1]

I find no record of the death of Hugh de Gondeville, or of the passing of Campden to his heirs. The entry quoted from Bishop Wulstan's Register of the foundation of S. Katharine's Chapel implies, as I think, that he was not married. The gift is made "for the safety of my soul, and the souls of my ancestors." There is no mention of his wife, and "antecessores" is not followed by "successores," as would be likely if he had children. Probably he died soon after the foundation of S. Katharine's, and the manor was granted again to the Earl of Chester. It appears, at any rate, to have been in the possession of Ranulph, sixth Earl, in 1199, as there is a charter by which King John grants to

[1] Register Wulstan, Vol. I., fol. 121a.

Gwiomar Briton and his heirs "all the land which he hath in Cāpeden by gift of the Earl of Chester, to be held by him and his heirs by the service of a fourth part of a knight's fee."[1]

This charter is described as "given by the hand of S.,[2] Archdeacon of Wells, 27th September."

The land thus granted must, I think, have been the whole, or part, of the hamlet of Broad Campden, which soon afterwards became a separate, but subordinate, manor. Of Gwiomar Briton, the first holder under the Earls of Chester, I cannot find out anything. The first of the two names has a Welsh look, and I should imagine that was his nationality, and that he should be described as Gwiomar *le* Briton. Now Cornwall and Devon was almost the only part of England where the ancient British race was living in intermixture with its Saxon and Norman conquerors; and less than forty years after the date of the charter just quoted we find Broad Campden, or a portion of it, in the possession of the important Cornish family of de Grenville. I should conjecture that it may have come to them by inheritance from Gwiomar Briton, who received a grant of land in Campden from the Earl of Chester previous to 1199.

In returning to the history of the chief manor I notice some obscurity as to its possession during the earlier years of John's reign. In the Close Roll, 6th John, there is an order to the Sheriff of Gloucester "to deliver to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, the manor of Campden, for which he is to give account at the exchequer at the King's pleasure." Rudder describes the Archbishop as seized of Campden at this time, but the order quoted is certainly not a grant in fee of the manor, but only a direction to administer it for the Crown.

It is singular that another entry in the Close Roll of t' same year shews Campden to have been in possession of the Earl of Chester. An order was addressed to Hugh de Nevill in these terms:—

"Know that we acquit our beloved the Earl of Chester 25 marks which he had exacted of his men of Campedene for an

[1] Charter Roll, 1st John, p. 21b.

[2] Simon Fitz Robert, appointed about this date. Fasti Eccl Angl. p. 143.—Ed.

amerciament of the forest, and therefore we order that you make them quit."

I can only conjecture that there had been some temporary forfeiture of the manor, and that it was restored in 1204 to Earl Ranulph.

He was evidently in high favour at that time, for he received the earldom of Richmond, and all the lands, fees, and liberties belonging to the honour of Richmond, which Geoffrey, son of Henry II., whose widow Ranulph had married, had held in Richmondshire.

This Ranulph mentioned above was surnamed Blundville, and was only son of Hugh Keveliok, Earl of Chester, succeeding to the earldom in 1181. He married, as has been said, Constance, widow of Geoffrey aforesaid, but obtained a divorce from her in 1199, "by reason," says Dugdale, "that the King (John) haunted her company."[1] He was one of the most powerful of the barons of England, and his life was an eventful one, but it is here only necessary to note his connection with the manor of Campden.

He renewed, as has been already noted, the charter of Hugh de Gondeville, obtaining in addition the concession of a fair for three days, on S. James' day and the two days following.[2] What the other terms of his charter were is not recorded, but a charter of the same Earl to the City of Coventry grants to the burgesses that "they should hold a Portmote, and choose some one man among themselves well skilled in the laws and customs who in his (the Earl's) stead should be judge over them."[3] Probably there was some such provision in the charter to Campden, as there certainly was a bailiff there as early as 1272.

Earl Ranulph twice entertained Royalty at his court of Campden, or at least there were two royal visits during the time he held the manor. King John was at Campden on the 25th and 26th of July, 1215, on his way from Woodstock to Feckenham, in Worcestershire, for there are two charters, one making Walter

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 41.

[2] Close Roll, 2nd Henry III. [3] Dugdale's Warickshire, p. 94a.

de Coventry Sheriff of Lincolnshire, and the other granting protection by sea and land to one Roger de St. Martin, which were signed by the King on the days above mentioned "apud Kampedeñ."[1]

Five years later Henry III. was at the same place. A deed concerning an almshouse at Woodstock was given at Campeden 1st May, 4th Henry III. (1220), and on the following day it is recorded that 20 marks was paid by Ralph Musard as parcel of a fine for marrying Ysabella, widow of John Nevill, without the King's license. This sum was paid into the King's wardrobe, to Peter Orivall', at Kampeden, on Saturday before the Ascension, for discharge of the King's expenses, and is attested by Hugh de Burgh at Kampeden, 2nd May.[2]

Ranulph de Blundville died in 1231, having held the earldom of Chester for more than fifty years. He died without issue. His barony fell into abeyance, and his lands were divided among his four sisters, daughters of Hugh Keveliok. Campden fell to Mabel, the second of them, who had married William de Albini, Earl of Arundel,—or rather to her son William, for she and her husband predeceased Earl Ranulph. William de Albini seems to have only enjoyed his inheritance for three years, and died without issue. In 1134 Hugh, his brother and heir, being then a minor, paid a fine of 2500 marks to the King "to have possession of all the lands and castles descended to him by the death of Earl William, his brother, as also of all those lands that did by inheritance descend to him from Ranulph, Earl of Chester, his uncle."[3]

I do not find much recorded which marks the connection of Hugh de Albini with Campden, except a note that the Earl of Arundel paid one mark for half a knight's fee which he held in Campedene of the honour of Chester, as an Aid for marriage of the King's sister to the Emperor of the Romans.[4] He died in 1243, "in the flower of his youth, having scarcely passed the bounds of juvenility."[5]

[1] Close Roll, 17th John.
[2] Close Roll, 4th Hen. III.
[3] Pipe Roll, 18th Henry III.
[4] Testa de Nevill, pp. 74, 5, 6.
[5] Matthew Paris in anno 1243.

Hugh de Albini dying without issue his inheritance was divided among his four sisters. Nichola, the third, who had Campden, married Roger de Somery, one of the greatest barons of his day. He was prominent on the side of the King in the civil wars of Henry III.'s reign, and was taken prisoner at the battle at Lewes.[1] I do not note his name among those recorded as having fought at Evesham, but he may have been with Edward, the king's son, in the battle which took place within a few miles of his manor of Campden, as only a very few of the nobles on the royal side are mentioned in any of the Chronicles. After the battle, when it was determined by the Parliament assembled at Kenilworth to choose three barons and three bishops, "men English-born and lovers of their country," who should again choose six others to act with them in deciding on what should be done in respect to the barons who had rebelled, the name of Roger de Somery is first on the first list of lay commissioners thus chosen, and to him in part, no doubt, was due the moderate counsel which resulted in the famous "dictum" of Kenilworth.[2]

His connection with Campden is marked by a grant of free warren in all his demesne lands there, and one market on Wednesday in each week in his manor of Campden, and a fair on the eve and day of S. James the Apostle and two days following.[3]

This charter is dated at Woodstock, 30th July, 1247. Two years later is another charter, dated Westminster, 16th April, 1249, the terms of which have already been stated as confirming all former charters by Hugh de Gondeville, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and Roger de Somery.

Roger died in 1273, his wife Nichola having predeceased him. By her he had four daughters, who were co-heiresses to their mother's estates, Joan, Mabel, Maud, and Margaret, married respectively to John le Straunge, Walter de Suley, Henry de Erdington, and Ralph de Cromwell. It is a singular fact that in three successive generations the lands and other property of the lords of Campden should have been partitioned among four co-heiresses.

[1] Matthew Paris in anno 1264. [2] Annals of Waverley.
[3] Patent Roll, 48th Henry III., m. 17 and 18.

The division, however, at the death of de Somery was a very different one from those when, at the death of Ranulph de Blundville, and of Hugh de Albini, the lands of the deceased were distributed among four sisters. Campden did not at this time fall to any one of the daughters of Roger and Nichola de Somery, but was divided equally among the four.

In the inquisition, taken after the death of Roger, on the Wednesday after the Feast of S. Dionysius, 1273, there is a long and elaborate description of the manor of Campden, with the names of all the burgesses and tenants. The jurors find that "he held the manor of Campeden in chief, as part of the barony of Chester, coming to him by Nichola de Albaniaco, his first wife, one of the heirs of Hugh de Albaniaco, Earl of Arundel, who was one of the heirs of Ranulph, formerly Earl of Chester. They say that there is a certain messuage, partly built, worth yearly, with garden, herbage, curtilage, and dovecote, one mark: and there are in demesne three carucates of land, containing 4 virgates of profitable and 6 virgates of very poor land, each virgate containing 32 acres, and they are worth 4^{li} per annum; price of an acre 3^{d}. Also there are 20 acres of demesne meadow worth 40^{s}. Also there is a certain spinet containing 62 acres, the pasture whereof is worth 3^{li} 10^{s}., and the 'feugeria' to be sold of the aforesaid spinet is worth yearly 18^{d}.[1] There is also a common pasture called the Wold in which the lord can have 1000 sheep of his own, and it is worth 20^{s}. There is also a certain fishpond worth 6^{s} 8^{d}, and 3 mills, and 2 parts of one mill, and 2 men belonging to the said mills, and there are certain free tenants . . . . . who pay rents amounting to 16^{s} 4^{d}."

The free tenants and customars and burgesses are all named in the inquisition, but their names are repeated in inquisitions which record the division of the manor among the co-heiresses, and, as in these last they are more easily deciphered, I give them in my abstract of the partition of the manor. These customary

[1] A *Spinet* is usually understood to be a small wood, but this would scarcely apply to an area of 62 acres. In this case we conceive it must be regarded as a piece of rough pasture interspersed with thorn trees and fern, for *feugeria* is *filix*=a fern-brake—*locus filice abundans*. (See Du Cange.)—Ed.

tenants are described generally as having their holdings in Westington, or, in some cases, in "Byriton in the Marsh."

The value and extent of the manor is thus summed up by the jurors:—

"And so there are in all 31 virgates of land and 4 acres which render yearly of rent of assize 7^{li} 0^{s} $7\frac{1}{2}^{d}$. And the works of the said customars are worth yearly 9^{li} 10^{s} $1\frac{1}{4}^{d}$. Moreover each virgate of land ought to do three ploughings worth 7^{s} 9^{d}, price of each ploughing 1^{d}; and also 6 bedrepes[1] in the autumn, which are worth by the year 23^{s} 4^{d}, price of each bedrepe $1\frac{1}{2}^{d}$. Sum of ploughings and bedrepes 31^{s}. Sum of whole rents and services 18^{li} 1^{s} $8\frac{3}{4}^{d}$. . . . Sum of cottage rents 2^{s}. Also the tallage of the customars is worth in average years 53^{s} 4^{d}, though they can be tallaged at the will of the lord. Pleas and perquisites and other customs are worth yearly 13^{s} 4^{d}. Sum of the whole extent 49^{li} 8^{s} $2\frac{3}{4}^{d}$ and one pound of pepper."

A long list of burgesses is then given which is thus summed up:—

"The total 75 burgages and a half burgage and a fourth part of one burgage, and 21 messuages, which render by the year 4^{li} 12^{s}. Pleas and perquisites of the said borough are worth 40^{s}. Sum of the whole rents of borough, with pleas and perquisites, 6^{li} 15^{s} 10^{d}, and one pound of cummin.

"They say also that Isabella de Albeniaco, Countess of Arundel,[2] has a certain part of the foreign manor, as well as of the borough, in dower, and it is worth . . . , and the said Countess recovered the said part of Roger de Somery before the Justices of the Bench; and the said Roger called to warranty Roger de Monte Alto and John fitz Alan,[3] from whom the said Roger received yearly 100^{s}, that is to say at Coventry from Roger de Monte Alto 50^{s}, and at Arundel from John fitz Alan 50^{s}. Sum of the sums of all the extent aforesaid, as well of the foreign

[1] A bedrepe was a reaping at the bidding of the lord.

[2] Widow of Hugh de Albini, Earl of Arundel, and daughter of William, Earl of Warren and Surrey.

[3] Roger de Montalt and John fitz Alan had married two sisters of Nichola de Somery, co-heirs with her of Hugh de Albini.

manor as of the borough, 61li 4s 0¾d and one pound of cummin and one pound of pepper.

"Richard de Greinville and Richard de Cromlyn hold Brode Campeden for half the fee of one knight, and they owe suit to the lord's court every three weeks. They say that there are more fees belonging to the said manor whose names they know not. And they say that upon their oath that Margaret, wife of Ralph de Cromwelle; Joan, wife of John le Straunge; Mabel, wife of Walter de Suyllye; and Maud, wife of Henry de Erdington, are next heirs of the said Nichola who was wife of Roger de Somery aforesaid, and are of full age.

"Memorandum that there is in the court aforesaid a certain chapel of S. Katharine, of old time founded; and there is a certain chaplain serving the said chapel who receives every year by the hand of the reeve 30s."[1]

The "chapel of S. Katharine" is of course that founded nearly a century previously by Hugh de Gondeville. One notices that in 1273 one chaplain served there, instead of the two originally provided for, and that the endowment, which had been three hides of land, was in Roger de Somery's time 30s. received from the reeve.

Another point in the inquisition may be noted before describing the further descent of the manor. Richard de Greinville and Richard de Cromlyn are mentioned as holding "Brode Campedene" as a dependent manor. I have already noticed the concession of certain land in Campden to Gwiomar Briton by Ranulph, sixth Earl of Chester, before 1199, and have given the reason of my conjecture that it is the same as that described in the inquisition on Roger de Somery's death as the property of Richard de Greinville. Was Richard de Cromlyn's share of the manor a portion of the same concession, or was it independently acquired? Well, first it may be noted that the land conceded by Ranulph de Blundville was held by the service of a fourth part of a knight's fee, and that described in Roger de Somery's inquisition is valued at half a knight's fee, the assessment fixed for the other portion of the manor which was retained.

[1] Inq. p.m., 1st Edward I, No. 15.

But there is other evidence of the land held in Broad Campden being an addition to that granted to Gwiomar Briton. There is a mandate recorded in the Close Roll, 17th John, dated 13th April, 1216, in which the Sheriff of Gloucester is bidden to permit Waloñ de Cotes to hold in peace 60^{s} of land in Little Campedeñ which Earl William de Mareshall has committed to him.[1]

"Little Campden" (Parva Campodena) is, as other documents to be quoted will shew, another name for the hamlet better known as Broad Campden. I cannot explain the grant made there by the Earl William Mareshall, but it partly accounts for the dependent manor being assessed at half a knight's fee in 1272, when its service was one fourth of a knight's fee in 1199, and for two names being returned as holders of the manor.

Of Richard de Cromlyn's connection with Broad Campden I have only to note that he, or one of his name, was concerned in some proceedings connected with the place in 8th Edward II.,[2] after which his name disappears from the history of the manor.

Of the Grenvilles there is more to be said. Broad Campden, or a portion of it, was in the possession of the family at least as early as 1238, for the Annals of Tewkesbury for that year describe an agreement entered into before the Justices in Eyre at Launceston between Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, and Richard de Greinuuile, by which the latter conceded to the Abbot and Convent five marks to be received yearly from Roger de Funteney as long as he shall live. After his death all his land in Little Campedene is to revert to the Abbey.[3]

Two years later Richard de Grenville died, and was buried in the Chapter House of S. James, Bristol, a dependent Priory to Tewkesbury.[4]

In 1249 the relict of this Richard de Grenville brought a suit against the Convent for the restoration of her dowry from their land at Campden, but it was discharged.[5]

[1] Close Roll, 17th John, m. 3. [2] Fines, Glouc., 8th Edward II.
[3] Annales de Theokesburia (Master of Rolls Series), p. 107.
[4] Ibid. p. 18. [5] Ibid. p. 138.

One other mention of "Little Campedene" I find in the Annals of Tewkesbury. The death of Giles Carver (Egidius Scissor) is recorded in 1259, and it is said of him that "he held Little Campden, and contrived much evil against the Chamberlain of the Abbey."[1] The land which Tewkesbury had acquired at Broad Campden seems to have been appropriated to the particular officer in the Abbey mentioned above. Henry VIII.'s commissioners report of the property given to the Abbot by Richard de Grenville, "Office of Brother Andrew, Chamberlain of Tewkesbury aforesaid, Brode Campden iiii^{li}."[2]

We may notice one more incident in connection with the Grenvilles and Broad Campden before returning to the history of the more important manor. In 1308 Katharine, widow of Richard de Grenville, claims of William de Wylegh the third part of one messuage, one water mill, and one carucate of land, and 5^{s} of rent, in Brode Campeden, as her dower. William de Wylegh vouches to warranty Bartholomew de Grenville, and, after an adjournment, there is judgement that there be taken into the King's hands sufficient of the lands of the said Bartholomew until he appear to the summons.[3]

The Katharine mentioned above was relict, as I think, of the Richard de Grenville mentioned in Roger de Somery's inquisition. Bartholomew de Grenville was grandson to the said Richard, but descended probably through a former wife. The family, unless, as I think unlikely, the Grevils were descended from them, did not remain long connected with Campden. It was, however, a very famous Cornish house through many generations, and Sir Bevil Grenville, one of the last victims on the royal side in the war between Charles I. and the Parliament, was a direct descendant of the former lords of Broad Campden.

It will be scarcely necessary to mention again the dependent manor. It did not continue long in the hands of any one family,

[1] Annales de Theokesburia (Master of the Rolls Series), p. 168.

[2] Valor Ecclesiasticus, p. 482.

[3] De Banco Rolls, Trinity and Easter, 1st Edw. II., Mich. 2nd Edw. II., Ro. 248.

and indeed seems early to have been much subdivided, and was held mainly, it would appear, by the more prosperous of the burgesses of Campden.

We return then to the history of the manor held by Roger de Somery till his death in 1273. His barony of Dudley went to Roger, his son by a second wife Amabel, daughter and heiress of Robert de Chaucombe, and the lands of Nichola, his first wife, were divided among his four daughters by her named in the inquisition already quoted. Of these not very much need be said as the lordship of Campden soon passed into other hands. Margaret married Ralph de Cromwell, whose son John was summoned to parliament 1st Edward II.,[1] and whose family became extinct in the male line at the death of Ralph, Baron Cromwell, in 1455.

Joan married John le Straunge, son of John le Straunge of Knokyn, co. Salop, who received summons to parliament 45th Henry III.[2] This last named John fought on the side of the Barons at the battle of Lewes, and was Governor of the castle there when Roger de Somery was made prisoner. The son John, who married a daughter of de Somery, died in 4th Edward I., and was succeeded by a third John, who parted with his share in the manor of Campden to John de Ludlowe. The last male heir married Jacquetta, daughter of Richard Widville, Earl of Rivers, and sister to Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. His only daughter and heir married George Stanley, son and heir of Thomas, first Earl of Derby, and brought the Barony of Straunge into the Stanley family, from which, by an heiress, it has now passed to the family of the Duke of Athol.[3]

Of Walter de Suley, who married Mabel, there is not much known. Probably he was descended from Reginald de Sully, who assisted Robert fitz Hamon in his conquest of Glamorganshire, and was rewarded by him with the castle and manor of Sully.[4] He died in 14th Edward II., leaving Mabel a widow.[5] She, as will be seen, parted with her share of the manor of

[1] Banks' Baronia Concentrata, Vol. I., p. 168.
[2] Ibid. Vol. I., p. 419. [3] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., pp. 665-6.
[4] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol, I. p. 406.
[5] Inq. p.m. 14th Edward I., No. 1.

Campden to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, but retained her lands at Barew, the caput of the barony brought by Nichola to Roger de Somery. She died 5th Edward II., and was succeeded by her son Raymond, who died about 10th Edward II., leaving an only daughter Elizabeth, who died without issue.

Maud, the fourth daughter of Roger and Nichola, married Henry de Erdington, whose family had held the manor of Erdington, in Warwickshire, under the ancestors of de Somery for many generations. He died in 10th Edward I., leaving a son Henry, a minor, who afterwards, 9th Edward I., received summons to parliament.[1] The elder Henry, about two years before his death, enfeoffed one Stephen Peeche of all his lands and tenements, &c., in Campden.[2] Maud, his widow, afterwards married William de Byfield without the King's license, for which she had to pay 100[l] for pardon.[3]

The four daughters described above received, at the death of Roger de Somery, each a fourth part of the manor of Campden. The partition is described in great detail, and I venture to give the record of it in full, as it is so complete a description of the borough and manor in 1273.

"The part of Sir Ralph de Cromwell of the said manor, viz., one virgate of good land and one virgate of poor land, and one acre of the value of one acre which Christina the widow holds above her virgate; five acres of meadow to every part, five acres of spinet to every part, also three mills and two parts in one mill, with two men for whose profit they shall be sustained. And each part has a fourth part of the profit, saving nevertheless to the chaplain serving the chapel of S. Katharine xxx[s] which the same receives every year, and a certain fishpond shall be common to the parceners.

Of the customars of Westington belonging to Sir Ralph de Cromwell :—

Gilbert Harding holds one virgate.

Ivo le Bond holds one virgate.

John Sparc holds one virgate.

Roger le Neuman holds one virgate.

William fitz Robert holds one virgate.

Robert de Daleby, of Byriton, holds one virgate.

Robert Golightly, of Westington, holds one virgate and a half.

Adam de Munndevill holds half a virgate of the service of William de Westington of quit rent. - - - - xvi[d]

1 Close Roll, 10th Edward I., m. 2.

2 Close Roll, 9th Edward III, in dorso. 3 Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 624.

Of the Burgesses of Campden

Master Roger, for iii burgages - - - - iii^{s}
Thomas P . . . , for one burgage - - - - ii^{d}
William de Bello loco, for one burgage - - - xiiii^{d}
John de Castello, for one burgage - - - - xii^{d}
Richard Beaufiz sen^{r}, for one burgage - - - - xii^{d}
Richard Beaufiz jun^{r} and Stephen de Gernington, for one burgage - xiii^{d}
William de Monemut and Robert de Seleby, for one burgage - xiii^{d}
William Bunhamelyn, for half a burgage - - viii^{d} dim.
John Fraunceis, for one burgage and a half - - xix^{d} dim.
William de Caucir, for one burgage - - - - xiii^{d}
John Pape, for ii burgages - - - - - ii^{s}
William Thurborn, for two parts of one burgage - - xii^{d}

Sum of this parcel xv^{li} vi^{s} q̃

The part of s^{r} John Extraneus followeth of the Burgesses of Campeden.

William Dot, for half a burgage - - - - vi^{d}
Dyonisia the nurse, for half a burgage - - - xviii^{d}
William King, for one burgage - - - - xx^{d}
John Prest, for one burgage - - - - - xx^{d}
Robert Daw, for half a burgage - - - - iiii^{d}
John de Aldeswell, for half a burgage - - - - vi^{d}
Philip le feyt^{r}, for half a burgage - - - - vi^{d}
Robert de Aston, for one burgage - - - - xvi^{d}
Agnes la Fard, for one burgage - - - - xvi^{d}
Walter the miller, for one burgage and one shop - - xxiii^{d}
Richard Child, for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
John Tressant, for one burgage - - - - xix^{d}
Thomas de Burton, for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
Thomas Botte, for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
Walter Hamelyn, for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
Walter de Blackelee, for half a burgage - - - viii^{d}
Robert le Messer, for ii burgages - - - - ii^{s} vi^{d}
William King, for one burgage - - - - xii^{d}
Thomas Eadmund, for one burgage - - - - xii^{d}
Thomas Faukes, for half a burgage - - - - vi^{d}
William King, for two shops - - - - xii^{d}
William Thurberne, for one messuage - - - - ii^{d}
Isolda de Thernishille, for one messuage - - - ii^{d}
Ranulph Papelard, for one messuage and one shop - - viii^{d}
Simon Griuel, for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
Robert de ffornham, for one burgage - - - - x^{d}

Part of the same Sr John of Westington of Biriton:

Walter de Conygcote holds one virgate

Gilbert atte Grene holds one virgate
Roger Abovenhirth holds one virgate
Alured of the Mill of Birton holds half a virgate
Adam the smith holds one virgate
The heir of le Despencer holds one burgage in Winchcombe worth - ix^{d}
Alexander le Myr, one cottage - - - - viii^{d} dim.

Sum of this parcel xv^{li} vi^{s} q̃

The part of Henry de Erdington followeth of the customars of Westington.

Richard Russell holds one virgate of land
Reginald le Messer holds one virgate
William Baret holds one virgate
William le Neuman holds one virgate
Richard Spearrawek holds one virgate
Robert de Quenton holds one virgate in Biriton
John Partriche holds half a virgate.
Christiana the widow holds half a virgate and four acres
Thomas Attesloth holds half a virgate

The part of the said Henry of the free tenants :—

William de Westington, for two virgates - - - vii^{s} x^{d}
with homage and escheat, because the residue of his rent is assigned to the other portions equally to be performed.

The part of the said Henry of the Burgesses of Campeden.

Henry fitz Margerie, for one burgage - - - - x^{d}
William Gilbert, for one burgage - - - - x^{d}
Robert Catte, for one messuage - - - - iii^{d}
Ralph Bond, for one messuage - - - - iii^{d}
Thomas Lee, for half a burgage - - - - v^{d}
Alice, daughter of Robert the miller, for one messuage - - iiij^{d}
Adam Page, for half a burgage - - - - iiii^{d}
John Campiun, for half a burgage - - - - iiii^{d}
Matilda de ffulford, for half a burgage - - - - vi^{d}
Thomas Grivel, for half a burgage - - - - iiii^{d}
William de Saynebyr', for half a burgage - - - vi^{d}
William de Hippelee, for half a burgage - - - viii^{d}
Henry le Tailur, for half a burgage - - - - iii^{d}
Cecilia de Ilmedon, for half a burgage - - iiii^{d} dim.
Robert . . . , for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
John Daw, for one burgage - - - - - xiii^{d}
Thomas de Upton, for one holt[1] - - - - vi^{d}
John de Biriton, for one messuage - - - - iiii^{d}
Robert the goldsmith, for one burgage - - - - xii^{d}
Geoffrey le Bedell, for half a burgage - - - - vi^{d}

1 Holt=grove or forest A.S.:—ED.

Edward Felath, for one burgage and one messuage - - xv^{d}
John le Fort, for two burgages - - - - iii^{s} ii^{d}
Roger de Honingham, for half a burgage - - - xv^{d}
Gilbert de Kinton, for half a burgage - - - - ii^{d}
Robert Child, for half a burgage - - - - xxii^{d}
John de Cruce, for one burgage - - - - xxii^{d}
Hugh Rige, for one messuage - - - - iii^{d}
John Gole, for one messuage - - - - vii^{d}
Isabella fforde, for one burgage one pound of cummin price iii^{d} dim.
William le Prude, for half a burgage - - - - viii^{d}
William le Francis, for one messuage - - - - ii^{d}

Sum of this parcel xv^{li} vi^{s} q̃

The part of Sir Walter de Suly of Campden followeth of the customars of Westington :—

Henry le Erle holds one virgate of land.
Geoffrey de Ulmo holds one virgate.
William Daniell holds one virgate.
William de Tyw holds one virgate in Alhbleted.

The part of the same Sir W. of Biriton :—

Richard de Norton holds one virgate.
Alice the widow holds half a virgate.
Alexander de Myr holds half a virgate.
Robert Osemund holds half a virgate.

The part of the same Sir W. of the free tenants and cottagers :—

Richard, the reeve, and three other tenants, for one virgate in . . . vii^{d}
William Calf, for two virgates iii^{s}, and half a pound of pepper price iiii^{d}
Robert Caspy, for one virgate, half a pound of pepper, price - iiii^{d}
with homa geand escheat - - - -
Emma la Gardinere, for one cottage - - - xii^{d}
Of the service of William de Westington of net rent - - ii^{s} x^{d}

The part of the said Sir W. of the Burgesses :—

William Calf, for one burgage - - - - iii^{s} iii^{d}
Matilda, daughter of Hugh Marger, for half a burgage - - vi^{d}
Walter le . . . . , for one burgage - - - ii^{s}
John King, for two burgages - - - - ii^{s} vi^{d}
John de Cheltenham, for one burgage - - - - xii^{d}
Thomas, son of Hugh Marger, for one burgage - - - xii^{d}
Richard de Homenton, for half a burgage - - - viii^{d}
Geoffrey . . . . , for half a burgage - - - - iiii^{d}
William de Monemut, for one burgage - - - viii^{d}
Henry the Clerk, for three burgages and a half burgage and one messuage - - - - - - iii^{s} iii^{d}
John Sterw . . . ll, for half a burgage - - - - iiii^{d}

Philip de Murs, for half a burgage	vi^{d}
Hugh fitz . . . . , for one burgage	x^{d}
William Sparc, for one burgage	xii^{d}
William Sage, for half a burgage	ii^{d}
Henry le . . . , for half a burgage	iiii^{d}
Richard Beaufiz jun^{r} and Walter Goselay, for ii shops	iiii^{d}
John de Linham, for one messuage	iiii^{d}
William Sloth, for one burgage	vii^{d}
Sum of this parcel xv^{li} vi^{s} q̃	
Sum total of extent of Campeden	lxi^{li} iiii^{s} iiiq̃

The partition thus minutely described was not effected without question. In 16th Edward I. (1288) Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, claimed the manor of Campden of the then holders, who are described in the pleadings as Mabel de Suley, Ralph de Cromwell, Walter le Venne, and Stephen Peeche,[1] as being heir of Robert Consul, Earl of Gloucester, who had once held it; but who had given it, as has been stated, to his daughter Maud on her marriage with Ranulph de Gernons, Earl of Chester. It was hardly likely that such a claim could be sustained, but Gilbert de Clare obtained in the following year a fourth part of the manor, the share of Mabel de Suley. The estate thus acquired is described as "one messuage, one carucate of land, and 50^{s} of rent with appurtenances in Campedene. The said Mabel," the record states, "quitclaimed to the said Earl, and the said Earl gave to the said Mabel one sparrowhawk,"[2]

It will be noticed that in the claim of Gilbert de Clare to the manor, the holders are described as Mabel de Suley, Ralph de Cromwell, Walter le Venne, and Stephen Peeche. It has been already stated that the last named acquired the share of Henry de Erdington about 1280. Of Walter le Venne I find no other notice in reference to Campden than in the plea of the Earl of Gloucester. He may have been an intermediary in the transfer of John le Straunge's portion to John le Ludlowe. This took place before the 28th April, 1286, as on that day "the King took the homage of John de Ludlawe for a moiety of the manor of

[1] Cott. MSS. Titus A. vi., 4. a.

[2] Feet of Fines, Glouc., Trinity Term, 17th Edward I., 142.

Campeden with appurtenances, which he had by gift of John le Straunge."[1]

It will be observed that the portion obtained is described as "a moiety" of the manor, not a fourth part. It is evident that Ludlowe ultimately obtained a moiety, and it seems possible that John le Straunge had acquired from Stephen Peeche the fourth which had belonged to Henry of Erdington, and enffeoffed John de Ludlowe with both shares. Any way these two portions came to him about the time of his enfeoffement by John le Straunge of his parcel of the manor, and in the following year, 1287, he claimed, with Ralph de Cromwell and Margaret his wife, and Mabel de Suley, view of frank pledge, free warren, market and fair, &c., in the manor of Campden.[2]

I proceed to shew the descent of the moiety of the manor held by Ludlowe, consisting of what were the shares of John le Straunge and Henry de Erdington, but which frequently was called "Ludlowe's Manor" in distinction from the portion held by the De Clares and their descendants.

John de Ludlowe, who acquired the moiety in 1286, died in 1295. An inquisition taken at Campden on the eve of the Assumption of S. Mary shews that he held a moiety of the manor of Campden of the King in chief, for one-fourth part of a knight's fee. The jurors report that "there is a messuage, with garden, herbage, curtilage, and dovecote, value xiii^{s} iiii^{d}. There are in demesne x acres of meadow worth xx^{d}, a certain common pasture in the spinet and upon the wold and in other commonable places, worth yearly x^{s}; four water mills, the moiety being worth ix^{li}. In villenage there are xiii virgates and iiii acres of land worth in rent of assize lix^{s} vii^{d} dim., price of each virgate iiii^{s} vi^{d}. And the tenant of each virgate should work from the Feast of S. John Baptist to Michaelmas for iiii days in the week, to wit on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, unless they be feast days, and each tenant's work is worth v^{s},—price of each day's work from S. John the Baptist to the Gules of August[3] i^{d}, and from that day

[1] Close Roll, 14th Edw. I., 5.

[2] Placita de Quo Warranto, 15th Edward I., Easter Term.

[3] Lammas day.—ED.

to the Feast of S. Michael i^{d} dim; sum of the whole work lxvi^{s} iii^{d}. And they owe six bedrippes worth yearly ix^{s} xi^{d} dim., price of each bedrippe i^{d} dim. And they owe iii ploughings and they are worth iii^{s} iii^{d} iii q̃, price of each poughing i^{d}. And there are free tenants, and they render yearly rent of assize ii^{s} i^{d}. And there are burgesses of the borough who render yearly of rent of assize xxiii^{s} ii^{d}. Pleas and perquisites and other casualties are worth yearly x^{s}. Bogo, son of the said John, is his next heir, and is of the age of twelve years."[1]

I have given a long extract from the inquisition taken on the death of John de Ludlowe because it describes so fully the terms on which land in villenage was held, and also gives the value of labour at the close of the 13th century. The inquisition goes on to state that Isabella, widow of John de Ludlowe, was jointly enfeoffed with her husband, and there is a record in the Close Roll, dated August 14th, 1295, that the King received her homage.[2]

I suppose Bogo de Ludlowe succeeded at the death of his mother Isabel, the date of which I have been unable to ascertain. In 14th Edward II. the King committed to him the custody of a fourth part of the manor of Campden, which belonged to Hugh Daudele, jun^{r}, rendering yearly xx^{li}.[3] This was but a temporary holding of the other portion of the manor during the forfeiture, but it proves that Bogo de Ludlowe was living 1320, and had probably succeeded at that time to his father's fee. He died within six years of this time, as in Trinity Term, 1326, his relict, Agnes, demands of John de Hampton a third part of the moiety of the manor of Campedene as her dower, and, after an adjournment to the Michaelmas term of the same year, the claim is allowed.[4]

Campden seems to have passed next to William de Ludlowe, who may have been son to Bogo and Agnes. He died on the 20th of May, 1349, leaving Thomas, his son and heir, aged five years.[5]

[1] Inq. p.m., 23rd Edward I., 29. [2] Close Roll, 23rd, Edw. I. m. 7.

[3] Originalia Rolls, 14th Edward II., Roll 40.

[4] De Banco Roll, Trinity 19th Edward II., Roll 249, and Mich. 20th Edward II., Roll 252.

[5] Inq. p.m., 23rd Edward III., part II., 1st numbers, 74.

This Thomas in 1375 obtained license to enfeoff certain trustees of his manor of Campden, to the intent that they might regrant it to himself and Elizabeth his wife and his heirs.[1] In the inquisition taken when this license was obtained, the manor, which had before been valued at £20, is estimated at 20 marks, and at the death of the said Thomas there is a further decline in value to £10.[2] This no doubt was in consequence of the black death, and other pestilences, which raged in England from 1343 to 1369, and carried off so large a proportion of the population that the land was to a great extent uncultivated.

At the inquisition taken on the death of Thomas, Edward de Ludlowe is described as son and heir, and is stated to have been of the age of 21 years and more in 1392.

Edward de Ludlowe died on the Tuesday after S. Michael, 1409, and it was found at the inquisition taken thereon that he had enfeoffed John Grevell[3] and William Merbury of his manor of Campden, as trustees, apparently, for his daughter Margaret, who is described as his heir, and of the age of 14 years. The manor is here stated at its former value of £20, but I note that 20 years afterwards the dimished estimate of £10 is again given.

Margaret, daughter of Edward de Ludlowe, married Baldwin Straunge. Whether he was of the family from which the Ludlowes acquired Campden I cannot tell, but he seems to have possessed property, and to have resided at Handsworth, in Staffordshire. Margaret died 6th February, 1419. At an inquisition held at Winchcombe Friday after S. Michael, 1431, the manor is said to be held by service of *half* a Knight's fee, and this assessment is repeated in inquisitions which follow. The diminished value of £10 is again returned.

Elizabeth, daughter to Margaret, is described as next heir, and of the age of 14 years. Though so young she was even then the wife of Robert Mauleners (Molyneux). Since her mother's

[1] Inq. p.m., 50th. Edward III. 2nd numbers, 43b.

[2] Inq. p.m., 16th Rich. II., No. 18.

[3] Son of William Grevel of whom mention will be made presently.

death in 1419, John, Duke of Bedford, by mainprise of John Willcotes and William Massey, by letters patent of Henry V., had occupied, and still occupied the manor from the death of Margaret, and received the issues and profits thereof.[1]

A further inquisition touching the age of the said Elizabeth, taken at Lichfield, reports that she was born at Hondesworth in the County of Stafford on the 1st February, 143½,[2] so that she was in fact only 13 years old when she was the wife of Robert Molyneux.

The date of Elizabeth's death I do not find, but her husband survived her, and at the inquisition, taken after his death, which took place 14th October, 1466, the jurors report that Elizabeth Straunge "was lately possessed of a moiety of the manor of Chepyng Campden, and 13s 5d of rent with appurtenances called Hunt's fee within the lordship of Chepyng Campden." They further report that Robert Molyneux, her husband, remained in possession "by the law of England," and that "John is son and heir of the said Robert and Elizabeth, and is of the age of 19 years and three quarters." The manor is again described as of the yearly value of £20.[3]

John Molyneux died in 1473, leaving a daughter Cecily aged nine weeks. The jurors at the inquisition taken thereupon find that "there is a capital messuage worth nothing by the year, and 22 messuages worth, beyond repairs and reprises, 100s, and a moiety of 4 ruinous mills worth, beyond reprises, 20s, and 4 messuages called Hunt's fee worth yearly 14s." They find also that the said John had enfeoffed John Molyneux, clerk, and Thomas and Robert Molyneux, esquires, of his estates, as trustees evidently for his infant daughter.[4]

Upon an inquisition, however, held 20th July . . . Hen. VII.[5] the aforesaid enfeoffment was found to have been made "by fraud

[1] Inq. p.m. 10th Hen. VI., 10. [2] Prob. Etat. 10th Henry VI., 54.

[3] Inq. p.m., 6th Edward IV., 17. [4] Inq. p.m. 13th Edward IV., 18.

[5] The inquisition is described in the index as 2nd Richard III., 43, but in the record itself the date is given of Henry VII., the year not being legible.

and collusion, to defraud and exclude King Edward IV. of his right to the wardship and marriage of the land and heiress of the said John."

Cecily, daughter and heiress of John Molyneux, married one John Fitzherbert, by whom she had issue Eustace Fitzherbert. Her first husband dying, she married John Josselyn, who survived her, and appears to have held the manor, as well as the manor of Perry Hall, and lands in Perry, Handsworth, Barre, &c., in the County of Stafford. I do not discover when he died, but Eustace Fitzherbert succeeded, and, dying 16th September, 1517, left two daughters co-heirs, Joan aged two years, and Elizabeth three-quarters of a year, at their father's death.

There is no mention anywhere of the elder of these, Joan, having any connection with the manor of Campden, and I suppose her share in the estate of her father was the manor of Perry, and other lands in the County of Stafford. Elizabeth clearly inherited the whole moiety of the manor of Campden which her father had held, and which is described as containing "10 messuages, 4 cottages, 4 tofts, 2 mills, 2 dovecotes, 40 acres of land, 300 acres of meadow, 900 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, 1000 acres of furze and heath, and 10li of rent in Campden, Chippinge Campden, Brod Campden, Burington, and Westington."[1]

This Elizabeth married for her first husband one Edward Smyth, and by him she had a son, John, who predeceased her, dying without issue. By Thomas Smyth, her second husband, she left a daughter, Grisigonon, who married Andrew Joyner.

A fine was levied 31st Henry VIII. between Richard Catlyn, gent., and Thomas and Elizabeth Smyth, in which a division is made of the manor which descended to the last named as daughter and co-heir of Eustace Fitzherbert, between the son of the first husband, who was then living, any children she might have by Thomas Smyth, her second husband, and Thomas Smyth himself, and his heirs general. Elizabeth died 1st Dec., 1559, without surviving issue by her first husband, but leaving, as has been said,

[1] Inq. p.m. 42nd Elizabeth, part II., No. 128.

one daughter, Grisigonon, by Thomas Smyth. This daughter appears to have inherited, at the death of her father, who had a life interest in the estate, a moiety of the moiety, or a fourth part, of the manor of Campden.

Thomas Smyth, soon after the death of his first wife, married Katharine, daughter of George Throgmorton, knight, and by her he had seven sons and seven daughters. The eldest of these was Anthony, who was his father's heir, and who ultimately, as I conjecture, obtained by purchase the portion of his half-sister Grisigonon, though there is a note that an offer made by him shortly after his father's death was refused by her and her husband.

Before saying more of Thomas Smyth and his family, it will be necessary to trace the descent of the other portion of the manor, which ultimately, as will be seen, was acquired by the same Thomas Smyth, who thus became lord of the entire manor of Campden,—the first who could claim that position since Roger de Somery.

Of the portion which fell to Ralph de Cromwell and Margaret his wife, daughter to Roger de Somery and Nichola, I am unable to give any account. It appears ultimately to have been in the possession of the descendants of Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, but how it was acquired, and who held it in immediate succession to Ralph de Cromwell, I have failed to discover.

The share of Mabel de Suley came into the possession of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in 1289, as has been already shewn.

It is unnecessary here to say much about this powerful family, as its connection with Campden was only the possession of a fourth part of the manor.

Gilbert de Clare, about the time that he acquired a portion of Campden, married Joan, daughter of Edward I., having divorced his former wife Alice. An inquisition taken after his death in 1296 states that Joan was "jointly enfeoffed with him of one fourth of the manor of Campden by the service of one-eighth part of a knight's fee, and that there is one-fourth part of one messuage,

and three virgates of meadow in demesne, and eight customary tenants. Rent of burgesses xxxviii^{s} vi^{d}, and one-fourth part of four mills." Gilbert, his son and heir, is stated to be of the age of four years and nine months.[1]

Joan survived her husband, and died in 1307. In the inquisition taken on her death, her fee of Campden is described a little more definitely as a messuage, &c., with 92 acres of arable land in demesne, 11 acres of pasture, and a certain pasture and water-mill. The total value of the demesne is given at £7 6s., and six free tenants render 23s. Eight customary tenants, holding each one virgate, pay in rent 32s, and render work like that described in inquisitions already quoted in respect to Ludlowe's manor, which works are assessed at 30s. Fees and perquisites are stated at 10s. Gilbert de Clare is son and heir, and aged 16 years on 11th of May last past.[2]

This Gilbert commanded the van of the army of Edward II. in Scotland, and was among the first to be slain at Bannockburn, 25th June, 1314. The jurors, at the inquisition taken at Campden after his death, found that his widow, Margaret, was pregnant,[3] and it was on this account, I suppose, that the King committed to Nicholas de Clare the custody of his lands and tenements at Campden.[4] There is no record of the birth of any posthumous child, though Dugdale says that a son named John died in his father's lifetime.[5]

The three sisters of Gilbert were his heirs, and Campden fell to Margaret, wife of Piers Gaveston, and afterwards married to Hugh de Audley, who in 11th Edward III. was created Earl of Gloucester. Margaret, in the inquisition on her brother's death, is described as twenty years of age.

It has been noticed, in the history of the other portion of the manor of Campden, that in 14th Edward II. the lands of Hugh de Audley were committed to the custody of Bogo de Ludlowe. Hugh had been in insurrection against the King, and indeed was

[1] Inq. p.m. 24th Edward I., 107. [2] Inq. p.m. 35th Edward I., 47.
[3] Ibid., 8th Edw. II., 68. [4] Originalia Rolls, 8th Edw. II., Roll 16.
[5] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 217.

taken prisoner at the battle of Borough Bridge, and his lands were forfeited. The nearness of his wife's relationship to the crown procured him favour, and they were restored in 1st Ed. III., and ten years later he was created Earl of Gloucester. He died in 1347, leaving by Margaret an only daughter Margaret, then 30 years of age, who was wife of Ralph, Lord Stafford. This Ralph was one of the most prominent of the barons who fought with Edward III. in the wars in France, and commanded the van at Cressy under the Black Prince.[1]

Ralph did not long hold Campden, as in 1348 he gave his fourth part of the manor to his brother, Richard Stafford, receiving of him 20 marks of silver.[2]

The connection of Richard de Stafford with Campden is marked by the grant to him of an additional fair, dated 26th May, 34th Edward III. (1360), for three days, viz., on the eve, day, and morrow of S. George.[3]

In the year 1350, soon after acquiring the manor, he obtained a license to found a chantry, and to assign 10 marks of land and rent with appurtenances to a certain chaplain, to celebrate divine offices daily in the Chapel of S. Katharine the Virgin in the vill of Campden.[4]

The license is dated at Westminster 28th Jan. 24th Edw. III. ($135\frac{9}{1}$), but the actual foundation, as recorded in the Register of Reginald Bryan, Bishop of Worcester, is of two chantries, with two chantry priests, and was not executed until ten years afterwards. In the Register above referred to he is described as Sir Richard de Stafford, knight, lord of Clyfton Camville. The chantries are "in honour of God and the Most Holy Trinity, and of the Blessed Mother of God, and all the saints, for the good estate of myself and of Maud, the partner of my home[5], and of my children, and of the most noble house of the lord Ralph de Stafford, Earl

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 160.

[2] Feet of Fines, Glouc., Trinity Term, 22nd Edward III., No. 290.

[3] Charter Roll, 34th, 35th Edward III.

[4] Pat. Roll, 24th Edward III., part I., m. 15.

[5] Maud, the second wife of Richard Stafford, was daughter and heir of Richard de Camville.

of Stafford, and of his children, as well as of the venerable father and lord the Lord Reginald, by the grace of God Bishop, ... and for the souls of Lord Ralph Basset,[1] formerly lord of Drayton Basset, of Edmund de Stafford and Margaret my parents, and of Isabel my late wife, and of all the faithful dead."

Long and elaborate details follow, which need not be quoted here, with respect to arrangements about the duties of the chantry priests, &c. They are both to be " within the Chapel of S. Katharine situate within the manor of Campden."

The charter is described as given at Campden on Sunday, the morrow of S. Kenelm the Martyr, 35th Edward III. (July 18th, 1361).[2]

Dugdale states that Richard de Stafford, like his brother Ralph, was prominent in the French wars of Edward III., and was at one time Seneschal of Gascoigne.[3] He had summons to parliament 44th Edward III. to 3rd Richard II.

It would appear that he had acquired the other portion of the manor of Campden, the descent of which, from Ralph and Margaret de Cromwell, I have so far been unable to trace. At the inquisition on his death, 13th August, 1380, he is described as seized of a moiety, instead of a fourth part, of the manor of Campden, &c.,—and as holding it by service of a fourth part of a knight's fee, whereas previous holders of this portion were assessed at an eighth part of a knight's fee. The manor also is described as worth £20 per annum, the same value as the moiety held by the Ludlowes. Maud, the wife of Richard de Stafford, who survived him, was jointly enfeoffed with him, and Master Edmund de Stafford is son and heir, and of the age of 36 years.[4]

Edmund, who was in priest's orders at his father's death, and became Bishop of Exeter and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, died 3rd September, 1419. An inquisition taken at Campden again describes the portion held by him as a moiety of

[1] Margaret, mother of Richard de Stafford, was daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton.

[2] Register Reginald Bryen, Vol. I., fol. 106.

[3] Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 159. [4] Inq. p.m. 4th Richard II., 51.

the manor, and states the annual value at £20. He held, as his father had done, the manor of Aston-sub-Edge, and the advowson of the church, of the Bishop of Rochester, and also the manor of Ulington, of John Grevil.[1] Thomas Stafford, son of Thomas Stafford, knight, who was brother of the said Edmund, is described as next heir, and of the age of 30 years and more.[2]

Thomas Stafford died in 1425. The jurors, upon the inquisition taken after his death, find that he held no lands at his death, but that John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and others were seized of a moiety of the manor, &c., which is stated to be worth yearly 20 marks. It is held, of course, in trust for the infant son of the deceased, as Richard Stafford is declared heir, and aged 5 years on the Feast of S. Lawrence the martyr last past.[3]

Richard, as I suppose, must have died before attaining his majority, as the moiety of Campden, and the manor of Ashton-sub-Edge, were next held by Katharine, sister of Thomas Stafford, who married Sir John Arden, knight.[4] Her daughter and heir, Maud, married Thomas, second son of Sir John Stanley.[5] His son John succeeded, and was seized of Campden 11th Edward IV., for Sir John Burgh, knight, was found in that year to have held a moiety of a messuage of Sir John Stanley, "as of his manor of Campden." This John is said to have died about 1476,[6] leaving a son, John, who succeeded.

A brother of the first named of these, Humphrey Stanley, had a grant from Richard III. of all the lands, tenements, rents, &c., of William Norreys, knight, in the town of Campden, and Ashton-sub-Edge, for the term of his life,[7] but I do not understand the manors of either place to be included in this grant.

John Stanley, nephew of Humphrey, and son of John Stanley named above, certainly held Campden at his death, 20th Nov.,

[1] Son of William Grevil, whose brass is in Campden Church.
[2] Inq. p.m., 7th Henry V., 22. [3] Ibid., 4th Henry VI., 18.
[4] Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. I., p. 159.
[5] Collins' Peerage, Vol. II.
[6] Banks' Baronia Anglia Concentrata, Vol. I., p. 414.
[7] Harleian MSS. 433, fol. 91b.

1508, for an inscription in Northenden Church, Cheshire, describes him as "quondam dominus de Campden super Wolde, in Com. Glouc."

There is an entry in the De Banco Roll concerning this John Stanley, the meaning of which I do not quite understand. It records that Thomas, Archbishop of York, gave to the King £6 10s. for license to make agreement with John Stanley, esquire, concerning the manors of "Chepyng Campdeñ, Burytoñ, Westyngtoñ, Astoñ-under-Edge, and also of the advowson of Aston-under-Edge."[1] I do not understand what the archbishop had to do with any of these manors, and least of all with Campden, or to what arrangement the license can refer.

Fosbrooke, quoting Wotton's Baronetage, says that the John Stanley last named died without issue, and that Katharine, daughter to Thomas Stanley, succeeded. In Banks' pedigree John is stated to have had three daughters, whose names however are not given. At any rate Katharine Stanley was his heir, and brought Campden to her husband Sir John Savage. Christopher Savage, son, as I suppose, to Katharine, dying seized 4th Hen. VIII., his son Christopher succeeded. He, shortly before his death, sold the moiety of the manor to Thomas Bonner, and all the rents, lands, &c., belonging to the said moiety in the vills or fields of Campden, Burington, and Westington, in the parish of Campden. All this, by deed indented 14th Feb., 37th Henry VIII., the said Thomas Bonner sold to Thomas Smyth, "except all those eight messuages and tofts, and 5½ virgates of land and pasture in the said vills and fields, which were formerly found to be copyhold lands, and then in the tenures of the said Thomas Bonner, William Bradway, and others."[2]

Thomas Smyth had already obtained from Christopher Savage a part of the estate, and some of the rights of his moiety of the manor of Campden. By indenture dated 8th November, 36th Henry VIII., Christopher Savage gave and granted to the said Thomas Smyth "two woods in Cheping Campden called Fearñes;

[1] De Banco Roll, Mich., 21st Henry VII.

[2] Inq. p.m. 42nd Elizabeth, part 2, No. 128.

and a moiety of a close called Tirwin Close, in Campden; and a yearly rent of 3li 4s 6d which the said Christopher used to receive of the bailiffs of the town or borough of Campden; and also the view of frank pledge and leet of the manor of Campden; and a yearly profit, called 'the common fine,' of 3s 6d per annum received from the inhabitants and residents in Campden, Berington, and Westington; and a yearly rent of 3s and other services issuing from one messuage and two virgates of land in Campden then in the tenure of Tomas Weolye; and the yearly rent of 3s and other services from a messuage and two virgates in Campden, then in the tenure of John Grevill, esquire, and of another; and a rent of 6s and services from divers lands and tenements in the parish of Campden then in the tenure of Richard Tracye, esquire; and certain other lands and tenements in Campden." [1]

The inquisition on the death of Thomas Smyth above quoted also relates in detail his acquisition of various other properties in Campden. He obtained by letters patent, dated 1st April, 7th Edward VI. (1553), the grant of Combe Grange to himself and his wife Katharine and his right heirs, to hold of the King in chief by the service of a fortieth part of a knight's fee. Combe, it may be remembered, had been given by Ranulph de Gernons, Earl of Chester, or Hugh, his son, to the Abbey of S. Mary, Bordesley, and had remained a grange of the Abbey till its dissolution, at which time it was described as of the value of £20 per annum.

Thomas Smyth also purchased of William Bolter "a messuage and 1¾ virgates of land in Brode Campden, lately in the tenure of Geoffrey of Monmouth and William Hidon." He also acquired from John Freman, alias Edwardes, the reversion of "a moiety of a messuage, 30 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture, and 20 acres of furze and heath, in Campden and Burington, after the death of Margaret, wife of Walter Harris, who held for life."

Certain chantry lands, also, he acquired from Henry Stapleton, gentleman, to whom they had been granted by the crown. They are as follow:—

[1] Inq. p.m. 42nd Eliz., part 2, No. 128.

"One virgate of land, and one barn with one close of land, late in the tenure of John Prat situate in the field called Burington, and formerly belonging to the late chantry called the first chantry of S. Katharine within the parish church of Campden, and the capital messuage or mansion of the said chantry; and one virgate and a half and three several closes, and all other lands then in the tenure of Richard Warner, situate in Westington, in the parish of Campden, and formerly belonging to the second late chantry of S. Katharine in the said church of Campden; and 3½ virgates of land, and two closes, and all other lands, tenements, &c., then in the tenure of John Rylie, situate in Brode Campden, and formerly belonging to the late chantry of Holy Trinity in the said church of Campden."

These had been granted by letters patent, 13th March, 3rd Edward VI. ($15\frac{4}{5}\frac{9}{0}$), to be held in free socage, to Henry Stapleton, who on the following day, 14th March, enfeoffed Thomas Smyth of the same. They are described by the commissioners of Edward VI. as of the value respectively of £8 0^{s} 7^{d}, and £6 10^{s} 8^{d}.

Thomas Smyth died at Occle, in Herefordshire, 31st October, 1593, but was brought to Campden for burial, being the first of the lords of Campden, so far as we know, whose body lies there. Anthony, his son and heir, was of the age of 30 years and more at his father's death. Two other sons, Thomas and Richard, were also at the time living at Campden, and had, by deed of appointment, an annuity of £40 each charged on the manors of Campden, and Draycot, Worcestershire.

The man of whom there has been necessarily much to write, who was the first lord of all Campden since Roger de Somery died in the first year of Edw. I., was of no distinguished family. He is described by Rudder as a descendant of a Worcester alderman, but the pedigree, as recorded in the Visitation of Warwickshire published by the Harleian Society, is even less definite, as it gives his father simply as "· · · · · · Smith, of Cambden." He had a grant of arms in 1540, *sable, on a fess between three saltires couped or, as many fleurs de lis gules.*

At the same time, though not of noble or gentle ancestry, Thomas Smyth was a man of some importance in his day. He is represented, on his tomb in the sanctuary of Campden church, lying in armour, with his two wives and his fifteen children kneeling at the base. The inscription describes him as a courtier from his youth,—" a pueritia sua aulicus,"—one of the royal council for the Marches of Wales, twice sheriff for the County of Gloucester, and justice of the peace for the same county till the end of his life.

The heir of Thomas Smyth did not long retain the estate which, by purchase and inheritance, his father had acquired. About 1608, some fifteen years after it came to him, he sold it to Baptist Hickes, afterwards Baron Hickes of Ilmington, and Viscount Campden.

Perhaps it will not be necessary to trace step by step the further succession to the manor, as it has continued to the present day in possession of the descendants of the elder daughter of Baptist Hickes, who purchased it about the beginning of the reign of James I. Of him, and of his connection with Campden, there will be much to state, but it may be better first to go back once more to the earlier history of the borough, and note whatever is recorded which concerns it, or its most eminent burgesses.

The first notice I find of Campden, after the brief records of its earliest charters, is in the Hundred Roll for Gloucestershire.

There had been great irregularities, and worse, in all parts of England during the weak reign of Hen. III. ; and his son Edward, as soon as he came to the throne, sent commissioners into every county to enquire, upon the oath of knights and other lawful men, of the state of every manor and borough, and the privileges of their lords, &c.

Two inquisitions for Gloucestershire were returned into the chancery, one in 2nd Edward I., and the other two years later. I give one or two extracts from these which relate to Campden.

The first is not very creditable to the burgesses.

" The jurors say that the town of Campeden hath assize of bread and beer, by what warrant they are ignorant and how long.

"They say that when the marshals of the lord King come to the market of Campeden to view the measures, to correct the false and retain the good, after the departure of the said marshals, they again resume the false, and put away the good, contrary to provision of the marshals.

"They say that the manor of Campeden appropriates to itself a certain liberty to distrain foreigners, namely one freeman for the fault of another, of whom he is not debtor or surety, and to retain the distraint until he shall have given satisfaction, by what warrant they are ignorant."[1]

The other inquisitions are concerned rather with the misdeeds of individuals, and it will be noticed that many of the names are those which have already been given as tenants of one or other of the heirs of Roger de Somery.

"The jurors say that Walter the miller was accused by Adam Merlawe, bailiff of Campeden, of manslaughter, and sent to the castle of Gloucester, and there imprisoned, and delivered by Walter de Bocking for 20^{s} which he gave him (as bail, apparently), and, after that, the said Walter the miller put himself in prison (surrendered to his bail), and was acquitted by his country.[2]

"They say that Master Richard de Clifford fished (fec' piscar') in the vivarium of Campden while he was escheator, for his breakfast (ad p'ndeū suū). They say also that Sir John de Extraneo (le Strange) fished there in the said vivarium, while it was in the hands of Sir Richard, and sent to Cumbe, a manor of Sir Roger de Clifford, to stock his vivarium there, and the said John is dead."[3]

John le Straunge, it will be remembered, was son-in-law, and, with his wife, one of the co-heirs of Roger de Somery. Master Richard de Clifford was escheator at the inquisition upon the death of Roger.

"They (the jurors) say that Peter de Chavent, Sheriff of Gloucester, and Walter de Bocking, amerced the borough of Campden in 20s, and caused Walter the miller of the same town to be distrained of one horse of the value of half a mark."[4]

[1] Hundred Roll, Vol I., p. 174.
[2] Hundred Roll.
[3] Ibid., 4th Edw. Vol. I., p. 182.
[4] Hundred Roll, 4 Ed. I., p. 182.

A notice in the earlier inquisition, 2 Edward I., shews that the amerciament was in consequence of the burgesses refusing to answer summons more than twice, instead of four times, a year at the Hundred of Kiftgate.

The inquisition further shows "that Roger Convers, on the part of Peter de Chauvent,[1] imprisoned Nicholas Russell and William fitz Gilbert until they had given him two marks . . , also that Walter de Bocking accused Walter the miller of theft, and Everard fitz Hugh of Campeden, and took them and imprisoned them, and they gave him two marks."[2]

There are a few other entries similar to those quoted in which Campden, and Campden people, are named; but I give only one other extract, which describes what I suppose was a sort of faction fight, between townsmen and county men, at one of the fairs or markets which recent charters had given to Campden.

"They (the jurors) say that men of the county of Gloucester had been entertained at Caumpeden in the time of Henry king before the king that now is. This being heard by the bailiff of Caumpeden, that the horses of the county were in the town, he told them that they should go after hay for the horses. And the said men of the county sent two of their grooms after hay. In going, they came where the girls and lads were singing for pigeons, and one of the grooms said that one of the girls sang well, and gave her the pigeons. This being heard by Nicholas Calf and Thomas le Prute, who had given the pigeons, they said that he lied, and that she should not have the pigeons. And one attacked the groom with a certain stick that lay to hand. The men of the county heard this, and came with bows and other weapons to rescue the said groom. On this came the young men of Caumpeden and Westingdone, and mixed with the men of the county, and each wounded and maltreated the other. And in the mean time one of the men of the county shot one of the town of Caumpeden with a certain barbed arrow. Afterwards the men

[1] Peter de Chavent was Sheriff of Gloucester from 54th Henry III. to 1 Edw. I., 3½ years, the first being for half the year only, and for the last two years Walter de Bocking, Clerk, acted for him. Rot. Pip.—Ed.

[2] Hundred Roll, 4th Edw. I., p. 178.

of Caumpeden went to the inn, and broke the door, and entered, and sought the felon, and did not find him; and they took two of the men of the county and imprisoned them, till they should have the felon. And when they had him, they delivered the other prisoners, and imprisoned the said felon. Afterwards the men of the county came to Caumpeden, and a certain man named Munda, with three grooms, took by force, and brought away the aforesaid felon. Afterwards came Simon le Beier, and his men, and entered into the house of John Thole, and there they took a certain book of the value of 20^{s}., and took it away, and certain other small goods, what goods they know not. This being done they took Robert Caspi, William Chalf, Henry Clerk, and Thomas le Prute, and brought them to Hamile, and there detained them until they had paid a fine of vi^{xxli}, from which they relaxed xv^{li}." [1]

I have quoted at length the above finding of the Commissioners recorded in the Hundred Roll, because it gives us almost the only description of any event connected with Campden and Campden people earlier than the beginning of the 17th century. It will be noticed that the borough had at that time a bailiff, and was under some sort of municipal government,—a fact not noted in the brief references to its earlier charters. The fine of six score pounds is so stated in the Hundred Roll, as printed under the direction of the master of the Rolls, but it must surely be an error of the scribe or the printer.[2] The men thus amerced were clearly amongst the wealthiest of the customars and burgesses of Campden, and their rents, as quoted in the inquisition which describes the partition of the lands of Roger de Somery, are almost the largest in a very long list; but six score pounds, even with an abatement of fifteen,—a sum almost equal to twice the annual value of the manor,—was probably a fine beyond the capacity of one who, like Henry the Clerk, held three and a half burgages at a rent of 3^{s}. 4^{d}., or, like William Calf, held two virgates and and one burgage on payment to the lord of 6^{s}. 4^{d}. and half a pound of pepper. I suspect that the scribe, or the

[1] Hundred Roll, 2nd. Ed. I., i. p. 174.

[2] We have referred to the original record, in which the sums are clearly stated, and it is correctly printed.—ED.

printer, has described as pounds what were in truth shillings.

There is not very much to state of the history of Campden for three or four centuries after this. In 1343 there seems to have been the find of some hidden hoard, concealed, it may be, by some Roman or Briton at the Saxon Conquest; for there is a commission, dated 28th Jan., 17 Edw. III., to John de Greete and John de Cherringworth, to "make inquisition, by jury of the county of Gloucester, as to what malefactors and disturbers of the peace took and carried away no small treasure in Campden hidden under the land, and belonging to the king by reason of his royal dignity, and to whose hands it had come."[1] I find no record of the result of the commission, and no other description of the treasure taken.

About this time the Nunnery of Cokehill, in Worcestershire, acquired one of the four mills so often mentioned in inquisitions on the death of lords of Campden. A charter of John, Bishop of Worcester, recited upon *inspeximus* of W., Bishop of Worcester, mentions the mill as beneath Paxford, and describes it as the gift of Thomas, nephew of the Earl of Gloucester.[2] I do not find any Thomas of this date in the pedigree of the Earls of Gloucester, but I incline to think he may have been a nephew of Hugh de Audley, who held Campden from 1316 to 1347, except during a brief interval of the forfeiture of the manor. A water mill worth four pounds is mentioned in the inquisition on the death of his predecessor, Gilbert de Clare, but has no place in the description of the manor of Hugh at his death in 1347. John Thoresby, Bishop of Worcester from 1349 to 1353, or John Barnet 1362-64, may be he who confirmed the gift. This mill remained the property of the Nunnery of Cokehill till its dissolution, when it was granted, 38th Henry VIII., to Sir Nicholas Fortescue and his heirs. In the Valor Ecclesiasticus it is described as land of which the rent was 4^s, and a mill with meadow rented at 15^s.

The latter part of the 14th century, and the whole of the century following, was evidently a time of great prosperity to the

[1] Pat. Roll, 17th Ed. III. A 2 Tergo.

[2] Nash's Worcestershire, Vol. ii. p. 17.

little Cotteswold borough. Campden was the residence of many of the wealthy wool-staplers, chief among whom was William Grevel, whose fine brass is now in the chancel of Campden Church, having been removed, with others, from the nave a few years ago. A description of this brass will more fitly find its place in a paper devoted particularly to the church.

Grevil died in 1401. Of his ancestry nothing is known, except that on the ancient roll of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, Coventry, the names of "William Grevel of Campedene, and Mariota his wife, and Richard Grevile his father," are recorded. Dugdale conjectures that the Grevilles are of the same stock as the Grenvilles, and if this be so, William Grevel may descend from the Grenvilles who held Broad Campden as early as 1228. The name of one of this latter family is written *Greyvile* in the Annals of Tewkesbury for 1249.[1] I believe, however, that this is just an accidental omission of *n* by the scribe, and that it is more probable that "the flower of English wool staplers," as Grevil was called, is descended from one of two burgesses of Campden,—Simon Griuell, who held half a burgage at a rent of 8^{d} in 1273, or Thomas Grivel who paid 4^{d} for a similar holding.[2]

Grevil was certainly living at Campden as early as 1367, as in that year he purchased a messuage with appurtenances there from William Wylicote, and Isolda his wife, for 10 marks.[3]

In 2nd or 4th Richard II. he paid a tax of 13^{s} 6^{d} for himself and his wife, and 4^{d} for each of six servants.[4] In 1399 he purchased another messuage and toft in Campden for £20.[5]

Willis, in his Current Notes, says that William Grevel lent to King Richard II. 200 marks, on promise of repayment at the ensuing Easter, 1398.[6]

In the same year he bought of Sir Walter Beauchamp, knt., the manor of Milcote, where for some time his descendants lived. One of them obtained license to build a castle there, and seems to

[1] Annales de Theokesburia, p. 107. [2] Inq. p.m., 1st Ed. I. 48.
[3] Feet of Fines, Glouc., Easter, 41st Ed. III., 461.
[4] Tax Roll $\frac{1}{31}\frac{3}{1}$ in Record Office.
[5] Feet of Fines, Glouc., Mich., 22nd Rich. II., 157.
[6] Willis' Current Notes, (1857), Vol. VII. p. 88.

have begun it, calling the place "Mount Greville." A more remote descendant, Fulke Greville, obtained from James I. a grant of Warwick Castle, which was then ruinous, and which he restored. It has been since his day the residence of the Grevilles, Earls of Warwick, who are lineal descendants of William Grevel of Campden.

Another branch of the Grevilles, probably descended from William, settled at Charlton Kings, and acquired the manor of Arle, in the parish of Cheltenham, by marriage with the heir of John de Arles. It was one of this family, probably Sir William Grevil, Justice of the Common Bench, and not William Grevel of Campden, who founded a chantry in Cheltenham Church.[1]

The will of William Grevel is dated 2nd April, 1401. He directs his body to be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary, of Campden, and leaves 100 marks to some work to be done there at the disposition of his executors. He leaves various persons sums of £10, or 10 marks, including "Richard my priest ten marks," and £200 for four priests to celebrate daily in Campden church for ten years. His son John, his second wife Joan, and Richard Boschell are his executors.[2] Joan, his widow, soon afterwards married Sir Edward Berstead, and a fine is recorded between Lewis Grevill, second son of William by his first wife, and Edward Berstead, knt., and Joan his wife, of a third part of 23 messuages in Chepyng Campden, Westington, Buryton, &c., to hold to Lewis, &c.[3]

The little I have been able to gather respecting other merchants commemorated by brasses in Campden church may be left for a paper on the church itself, if the editor of these Transactions will let me send one to him at some future time.

One great benefactor of the place, however, must not be forgotten, though there is little to tell of him except the work which he did for Campden. John Ferby is said to have founded the Grammar School in the year 1486. The foundation really was a chantry, and all the early information I can obtain concerning it is from the chantry certificates. It so happens that in

[1] Trans. of the Bristol & Glouc. Archæol. Society, Vol. VIII. p. 284.
[2] Lambeth Register, Arundell, 183a. [3] Fines, 7th Hen. IV.

this case the return of the Commissioners of Edward VI. is not quoted in the valuable paper on Gloucestershire Chantries, in Vol. VIII. of the Transactions of this Society, but only the memorandum appended to it. The chantry is there described as "The Scolemaistꝛ ſuice at dict fferbye ſuyce, ffounded by one John fferbye and Margery his wiffe and the landꝛ putt in feoffment to thintent to fynde a priste to maynteine a ffrescole in the seid pish of Campden for ever."[1]

In the Chantry Certificate No. 21, the commissioners of Henry VIII. describe the object of the founder as being "To ffynde a preste for ever to kepe a ffrescole & to have for hys salary by year viii^{li}. To kepe an obyt & to geve in almes yerely xl^{s}."

In each of the certificates the annual value is described as £13 6^{s} 8^{d}. Roll 22 has the following memorandum appended:

"M^{d} that there hathe byn tyme oute of mynde kepte w^{t}in the seid pich a gram̃ schole ffreelie taughte comenlie ffurnyshed with the nombre of iii or iiii^{xx} scolers for mayntenñce & kepinge wherof oon John fferbye & M'gery his wiffe gave and put in ffeoffement the moytie of a certeyne mano^{r} w^{t} thappu^{r}teñnꝛ amountinge to the yerelie value of xiii^{li} vi^{s} viii^{d} w^{t} wch yerelie rent comynge of the p̄misses the seid schole hathe byn alweys & yet is kepte & maynteigned accordingelie, the teacher havinge for his salarye sometymes x^{li}, sometymes xii^{li} by yere, as his learnyng qualities & behavyo^{r} byn. The residue therof hathe byn distributed & converted for the Relevynge of poore people & in payeing a stuardꝛ ffee of xx^{s} by yere."

"Sr Robert Glaseman" is described as "Incumbent there of thage of liii yeres, having no other lyving then in the seid ſuice."

It will be noticed that the commissioners of Henry VIII. report Ferby's endowment as a chantry in the parish church, one of whose objects was the keeping an obit yearly for the founder. This last is not mentioned in the Report of the Commissioners, 2nd Edw. VI. The endowment seems then to have been appropriated wholly

[1] The omission of this paragraph arose from an error in judgment on the part of the transcriber. He says in explanation: "I most probably omitted it because it is struck through with the pen, leading me to suppose that it should not be copied."—Ed.

to the school, and was not therefore seized by the Crown. There were two other chantries at Campden, but I find nothing to record of their founders, and what there is to say of the foundations will be best said in some future paper on the church. I defer also any mention of William Bradwey, an important citizen of Campden in the 15th century, as his will, dated 6th June, 1488, is chiefly interesting from its benefactions to the church and clergy of Campden.

It would be very interesting to know something of this town and its inhabitants during the great religious changes which took place in the reigns of the last four Tudor monarchs, but there is nothing to indicate how these changes were received by the descendants of those burgesses who, a century earlier, had shewn their piety in founding chantries and providing for masses. The monastic property in the parish, which was considerable, was, with the exception of the mill which had belonged to the Nunnery of Cokehill, acquired, by grant or purchase, by Thomas Smyth, who obtained also the endowments of three of the four chantries attached to the church. According to the commissioners of Edward VI. he claimed as his own the holy vessels and vestments which were used in the chantries of S. Katharine, but he seems to have had no objection to their use, and may perhaps have made the claim that the use might be continued.

One, who may possibly be a member of his family, is mentioned by Foxe as among those who suffered in the troubles of the Reformation, but he is in Foxe's list, not as a martyr, but as an instance of "God's punishment of persecutors." "Henry Smith," writes the martyrologist, "havyng a godly gentleman to his father, and an auncient protestant, dwelling in Camden in Gloucestershyre, was by hym vertuously brought up in the knowledge of God's Word and sincere religion, wherein he shewed hymselfe in the beginnyng such an earnest professour that he was called by the papistes 'pratling Smith.'" Foxe describes his entering at the Middle Temple, and relates how, "by sinister company of one Gyfford, he began to be perverted to popery." The end of Foxe's story,—a very natural end in his view,—is that the said Henry Smith commited suicide in his chambers near Temple

Bar. His death, the circumstances of which are related at some length in the "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," took place in 1569. I thought at first that Henry Smith might be a son of the then lord, but this cannot be, as Thomas Smyth had but one child, a daughter, by his first marriage, and his second marriage did not take place till after 1560.

Our history of the manor of Campden has been brought down to its acquirement by Sir Baptist Hickes very early in the reign of James I., and I have mentioned the few matters worthy of note which I have been able to discover in the history of the town to the same period.

In 1605 the borough obtained a new charter. Rudder gives it *in extenso*[1] so that a few remarks upon it only are necessary. Former charters of the borough, which is here described as "ancient and populous," are stated to have been lost. The government henceforth is placed in the hands of fourteen capital burgesses, of which two shall be chosen as bailiffs, and twelve inferior burgesses, who together shall be the common council of the borough.

Power is given to the bailiffs and capital burgesses to make laws and statutes, &c., for the government of the borough, and to punish by corporal punishment or amerciament the breach of them. John Price, gentleman, and William Dampart, yeoman, are nominated as the first bailiffs under the charter, and other twenty-four are named as capital and inferior burgesses. A steward, who must be a person learned in the law, is to be elected by the capital and inferior burgesses, and is to continue in office during their pleasure. The bailiffs and steward are to hold a court of record in every fourth week yearly, and have jurisdiction in all debts, pleas, &c., not exceeding the sum of 13^{s} 4^{d}. Two serjeants-at-mace are to be elected by the bailiffs, who shall bear before them gilt and silver maces "engraved and adorned with the ensign of our arms." Two annual fairs are granted, one on the Feast of St. Andrew, and the other on Ash Wednesday. These fairs, no doubt, are in addition to those previously granted for the

[1] Rudder's History of Gloucestershire, Appendix, No. 27.

Feasts of S. James and S. George, the privileges of which belonged to the lord of the manor, as it is expressly stated in the charter that all rights of Anthony Smith, esquire, who then held the manor, are reserved.

Most of the powers conferred by the charter of James I. have long ceased to exist, but the corporation continued until extinguished last Michaelmas by an Act passed by the present Home Secretary. The maces, "engraved and adorned with the ensign of our (James I) arms," were shewn to the Society on its visit to Campden in 1884, and I hope will be preserved. The original charter has been lost in, I am told, comparatively recent times. I have not been able to find anywhere a copy of the common seal, or to meet with a description of it.

Very shortly after the granting of this charter the manor passed to one who has, more than any other lord of Campden, left his mark on the place, and given reason for his name to be held in grateful remembrance.

Baptist Hickes was one of the most prominent of the London citizens of his day, being at the English court of James very much what Heriot had been at that of Scotland. He was son of Robert Hickes, a silk mercer, who kept a shop in Cheapside, at Soper Lane End, called the White Bear. Michael, an elder brother, graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became secretary to Lord Treasurer Burghley. No doubt it was partly owing to Michael's influence that his brother was able to make so large a fortune by his dealings with the King and the court. These dealings were by no means limited to the sale of mercery wares. He made his fortune mainly as a money-lender, or banker. There are several original letters from him to his brother Michael among the Burghley papers in the British Museum, in most of which he asks his influence to obtain repayment of loans to the King or some of the nobles. In one of them he desires his brother's aid in obtaining repayment of a loan of £4000 to the King, describing at the same time "the mayne debt due from his ma^{ty}" as "up to the point of 16,000^{l}." He was knighted by the King and there was a long discussion, ending in a formal award by the

Earl Marshal, as to whether Baptist Hickes, as King's commoner, or the alderman knights of London, had the precedence.

In 1620 he was created a baronet, and on 5th May, 1628, he was raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Hickes of Ilmington, and Viscount Campden of Campden, with remainder to the husband of his elder daughter, Lord Noel of Ridlington.

Baptist Hickes was munificently liberal to Campden, as indeed he was to several other places. His gifts to the church it will be best to describe when Campden Church is our special subject, but it may be mentioned here that he built the six almshouses, providing each pensioner with 3^s 4^d per week, and a hat and gown and ton of coals yearly. The picturesque market house, still standing, is another of his gifts to Campden. The City of London, the parishes of Hampstead and Kensington, and other places, shared in his liberality. The epitaph on his tomb in Campden Church computes his gifts to various charities at £10,000, a sum equal perhaps to five times that amount at the present day. He built also a magnificent mansion at Campden, at a cost of nearly £30,000, whose unfortunate fate must be described presently. It is said to have been surmounted by a glass dome, which was lighted at night as a beacon for travellers over the wolds. Baptist Hickes died in 1629, and "lyes bury'd,' says Camden, "in the South Ile of the Church, with such noble monuments of marble as equal, if not exceed, most in England."

He left two daughters by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard May. The elder of these, Juliana, inherited Campden, and her husband, Lord Noel, succeeded to the titles of his father-in-law. The other daughter, Mary, married Sir Charles Morrison, knight, of Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire, and had by him an only daughter married to Arthur, Baron Capel of Hardham, who was mother to the first Earl of Essex of that family.

One benefit to Campden from its first viscount should not be forgotten, though its final accomplishment seems to have been after his death. The endowment left by John Ferby for the

Grammar School at Campden was vested in trustees who, by foolish and fraudulent mismanagement, had dissipated much of it. There is a long account of the proceedings instituted by Sir Baptist Hickes among the Landsdown MSS. in the British Museum, from which it appears that Thomas Basonals, a butcher, and another, who were enfeoffed of the land, "in consideration of some great sum in hand and more to be paid them," gave a lease for 101 years of the land at Lynham, permitting also timber to the value of £500 to be cut, and in the end paying two-thirds only of the rent of £20 to the master, and keeping the remainder themselves. There are other disputes and accusations, and ultimately two of the offending feoffees are persuaded to resign on receiving £40 each; but they do so only on the condition that the remaining feoffees shall not elect Lord Nowell, Sir Charles Morrison, Sir Baptist Hickes, the vicar, or others named, into their places, "knowing they would be strict to observe and look into the revenues and profits of the premises, as well as into former arrangements." The matter was in litigation some time, but was at length decided by Lord Keeper Coventry. New trustees were chosen, and the former ones were made to disgorge as much as could be obtained of their plunder.[1]

One cannot follow further, within the limits of this paper, the history of this, one of the oldest endowed schools in the county, or the kingdom. With a diminished, and very inadequate, income it has done good educational work up to the present day, and is not likely, I hope, to cease from it. The addition of a scholarship to Pembroke College, Oxford, to which this school presents in turn with schools at Gloucester, Cheltenham, and North Leach, by bequest of George Townshend, has further extended the usefulness of John Ferby's foundation. The fact that the present Dean of Canterbury, formerly Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was Townshend scholar from Campden School is some proof that John Ferby's work has not been in vain.

As has been stated, Baptist Hickes, Viscount Campden, died in 1629, and was succeeded in his titles, and his estate at Campden,

[1] Lansdown MSS., ccxxvii., fo. 279.

by his son-in-law, Edward, Lord Noel. I do not note anything of importance concerning him, except that he was a strong royalist, and died in 1642 when with the King's army at Oxford. His second son, Henry Noel, died a year afterwards a prisoner with the parliamentarian forces, and was buried, with his infant and only son, at Campden, on the same day with Elizabeth, widow of Baptist, first Viscount Campden, 27th July, 1643.

The family was to have serious losses of another kind in the civil war. Baptist, third Viscount Campden, was active in the royal cause in the east of England, and his vigour is mentioned by Carlyle, who describes "a horde of plunderers, which the old newspapers call Campdeners, followers of a certain Noel, Viscount Campden, from Rutlandshire, who has seized Stamford, and is driving cattle at a great rate."

He does not seem to have been personally associated with the events of the war which took place at Campden itself. This place was of some importance as lying in the only available route from London to Gloucester, *viâ* Warwick,—the readier way by Oxford and Cirencester being closed.

Campden House seems to have been occupied for a short time in October, 1643, by Lord Molyneux and a regiment of horse. Major Bridges at this time held Warwick Castle for the parliamentarians, and knowing that the occupation of Campden would interrupt a necessary line of communication, he attacked Molyneux there in the night, and took a hundred horses and many prisoners.[1]

The place, however, was more permanently occupied by another royalist leader soon afterwards. There is a letter to Prince Rupert, dated Campden, Dec. 23rd, 1644, from one William Duggan, in which he mentions having taken possession of the house,[2] and this doubtless marks the exact date of its occupation by the royalist garrison which burnt it. Another letter to Prince Rupert from William Legge tells of the writer's arrival there, and of the deficiency of provisions. He rather fears, he says, "a famine than an enemy." This lament over an empty larder is appropriately dated Christmas Day, 1644.

[1] Perfect Diurnal, Oct. 16th.

[2] Warburton's Life of Prince Rupert, Vol. I. p. 516.

I suppose it was after this that the command was given to Sir Henry Bard. He was appointed probably by Prince Maurice, who, in December 1644, was made major-general of the counties of Worcester, Salop, Hereford, and Monmouth.

A letter from Bard to Prince Maurice was intercepted, and published in one of the parliamentarian news books, in which he thus reports his arrival at Campden :—

"May it please your Highnesse Excellency, I thought good to signify to you that I am here at Campden House with my forces, which I conceive will be very advantageous towards the strengthening of this Association for your Highnesse : we are taking great paines with spades, shovels, and mattocks, *planting the Gospel*, and I am no longer happy than I may wait upon your Highnesse."[1]

Bard's presence at Campden was very annoying to the parliamentarians, as it seriously endangered communication between Gloucester and London, and the country was exhausted by plundering parties from the garrison. In another news book is an article beginning thus :—"I fear the way is something dangerous from Warwick to Gloucester. Some of Cambden's garrison went lately to Winchcombe, where they plundered them so here that the plundered had not a sunday shift of cloathes left them :—all the cattle drove away."[2] He sent warrants also to various parishes impressing soldiers for the King's army, and apparently taking delight in doing so where the sympathies of the authorities addressed were on the other side.[3] So great is the annoyance that Colonel Massie, then in command at Gloucester, is directed to attempt Campden House, and to obtain help in the design from the parliamentarian garrisons at Warwick and Coventry. Massie said, however, it could not be done to advantage, and that the execution of the design was rendered impossible by its publication beforehand in the London Mercuries.[4]

[1] Perfect Occurences, Jan. 23rd, 164⅘.

[2] Perfect Passages, Saturday, 5th April, 1645.

[3] Ibid, May 29th, 1645.

[4] John Corbet's Military Government of Gloucester, in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, pp. 132-3.

Possibly this testimony to the value of the position may have been one cause of the destruction of Campden House. This has generally been described as due to the loyalty of its owner, to prevent its falling into the hands of the parliamentarians. It seems evident, however, that it was occasioned by an order of Prince Rupert, executed,—not reluctantly, I fear,—by Sir Henry Bard.

The royal army left Oxford on the 7th of May, 1645, marching towards Worcester, and drawing out all the garrisons on the way for the expected battle, which was fought at Naseby. Sir Henry Slingsby, in his Memoirs, writes,—"before we started, the Prince (Rupert) had given command to Col. Bard, Gov. of Cambden, to march along with his reg^{t}; and least the enemy should make use of the house for garrison when he had left it, being so near Evesham, ye Prince likewise commanded it to be burnt, which I set on a light fire before we marched off, a house, as my lord Cambden says, that hath cost 30,000^{l} in building and furniture."

It would seem that Saturday, May 10th, was the date of this disaster, for the "Weekly Account," under the news of Monday, May 12th, 1645, states:—"On Saturday last his majesty in the evening went down by Broadway to Evesham, and Prince Rupert marched in the reare guard over Broadway Hill by the light of Cambden House, which they say was then on fire."

There is little more to say of the occupation or destruction of Viscount Campden's mansion. That Bard was to some extent responsible for the disaster seems shewn by Lord Worcester speaking to him rather bitterly of "Camden's Remains." Clarendon attributes the act directly to him, though he does not mention him by name. "His majesty reached Evesham," he writes, "and on his way drew out the garrison from Campden House, which had brought no other benefit to the public than the enriching the licentious governor thereof, who exercised an unbounded tyranny over the whole country, and took his leave of it by wantonly burning the noble pile which he had too long inhabited." [1]

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Ed. 1839, Vol. V. p. 164.

Fuller's reference to the disaster shall be the last I will quote. "As for civil structures in this county," he writes, "our late wars laid a finger on Barclay, their arm on Sudeley Castle, being in part plucked down; but their loynes have they laid on Camden House, (one of the newest and neatest in England, built by Baptist Hicks, Viscount Camden), pressed down to the very foundation."[1]

It may be noted that the parish registers show some mark of the garrison's occupation of the place by recording the deaths of about half dozen of "ye king's souldiers" between the dates of 18th of January, $164\frac{4}{5}$, and the 3rd of May following, as well as of "Captaine Thomas Hall," who, I suppose, may have been one of the officers of the regiment quartered there.

One more incident of the civil war must be mentioned, though its connection with Campden is less close. Col. Birch relates how, with a little army of 2700, he marched to meet Sir Jacob Ashley, whose army consisted of about 3000 men, "halfe of them being reformados, men of vndoubted resolution." He describes how "Sir Jacob Ashley came marching with his army in view, wee, lyeing on the topp of the hill nere Cambdin, saw him march at least six miles together." In the end Col. Birch sent "500 good horse and some ffew foote, to make them spend the time and tire them: in the meane time the rest of our army to ffeed and refresh themselves abundantly, which they did from Cambdin."[2] The defeat of the last royalist army ensued at Stow-on-the-Wold, when Sir Jacob Astley, as his name is generally written, and more than half of his forces, were made prisoners. It may be mentioned here that, on the establishment of the Commonwealth, Lord Campden had to pay £9000 in composition for his estates, in addition to an annuity of £150 per annum settled on the ministry.

There is not space to relate much of the more modern history of Campden, and perhaps most of it will find its place more properly in a paper on the Church and Advowson, as the registers,

[1] Fuller's Worthies, p. 351.

[2] Military Memoir of Colonel Birch, Camden Soc., p. 34.

which date date from 1616, and the churchwardens' accounts, which are complete from 1636, are almost the only available records.

There are, however, two or three Campden men who deserve some notice.

One of these is Robert Harris, afterward President of Trinity College, Oxford. In a short life of him it is said that "he was born in 1578, in a dark time and place, at Broad Campden." It was a lament to his father, described as "a very wise and understanding man," and his mother, who "was confessed to be a very devout woman," that their son when a boy "was more willing of play than of reading the scriptures to his parents at their call." He went to the Grammar School at Campden, thence to Worcester, and thence to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he was brought under the strong puritan influence of his tutor, Mr. Goffe. "After he was a while Bachelor of Arts," his life informs us "hee had minde to try what his fitnesse was for the pulpit, and having prepared himself, hee offers his pains at Chipping Campden; but such were those times that in the greater town hee did not know where to procure a Bible for the reading of his text. At length hee was directed to the vicar there. The Bible could hardly be found, not being seen for some months before. At last it was found and the preacher furnished."

Harris became after this a regular puritan minister, and was sent to Hanwell, "where hee found the country in this posture,—'Preach hee might and welcome, but pastors they would have none but their old.'"

It is hardly worth while saying more of him here. His character is naturally very differently estimated by those who view it from different sides. He died in 1658, and his epitaph in the chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, described him as "præses eternum celebrandus," but the words were erased by the composer after the Restoration.

A more eminent native of Campden than Harris was George Ballard. He was born in 1706. His family had been resident in the adjoining parish of Weston-sub-Edge for very many genera-

tions, one of his name being mentioned in the Subsidy Roll for that parish 1st Edward III. A great uncle of his was eminent as a physician at Weston, and gave £100 to the use of the poor of Campden. His grandfather, Thomas Ballard, gave the chimes to the church.

George Ballard lost his father when about four years old, and his mother supported herself as a midwife. He was apprenticed, when young, to a stay-maker, or woman's habit-maker, not having health, it is said, for any occupation demanding physical strength. He devoted, however, all his spare time to study,—the study especially of Anglo-Saxon, and of antiquities. The time he occupied in learning the Anglo-Saxon language was taken from sleep, after the day's labour was over. He had no money to spend in books, but borrowed from Browne Willis an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, of which he made a complete transcript, adding, it is said, nearly a thousand words collected from his own reading.[1]

The great industry and learning of George Ballard at length won him friends. Lord Chedworth, and the gentlemen of his hunt, used to spend a month in Campden in the hunting season, and they subscribed £60 a year to enable him to follow his studies. They had offered him £100, but he refused more than the smaller sum. He then, in 1750, matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, though he never seems to have proceeded to a degree.

When quite a young man he had become acquainted with Hearne, the antiquary, and is frequently mentioned in the diary of the latter. Hearne notes his collection of Roman coins, and his knowledge of this branch of archæology. The first visit recorded in the diary was in 1727, and the note is as follows:—

"March 2nd, yesterday in the afternoon, called upon me Mr. George Ballard, a young man, a taylor, of Campden, in Gloucestershire, of whom I had heard Mr. Graves (of Mickleton) speak more than once. This Ballard is an ingenious, curious young man, and hath picked up an abundance of old coins, some of which he shewed me. He hath been at many places about the country for that end. He hath also picked up many of our

[1] Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, Vol. II., p. 466.

historians and other English books, and takes great delight in them, but he is no scholar. . . . Mr. Ballard hath a sister equally curious in coins and books with himself. He told me she is twenty-three years of age."

An entry in the same Diary, dated May 5th of the same year, relates how Ballard was learning Latin, going twice a day to the schoolmaster at Campden, and that he had even then a desire to enter some college or hall at Oxford, but was dissuaded by Mr. Graves with Hearne's approval. There are numerous other references to Ballard in Hearne's Diary, one of which, dated April 9th, 1729, speaks of him as doing "little or nothing at his trade, but rambling about after coins, and endeavouring to make a perfect series of the Roman ones."

In 1752, he published "Memoirs of Learned Ladies," another edition of which was printed in 1775. One of his contemporaries speaks of him as "a mantua-maker, a person studious in English Antiquities, laborious in his pursuits, a Saxonist, and after quitting the external ornaments of the sex, a contemplator of their internal qualifications."

Ballard drew up an account of Campden Church in 1731, which was read by Dr. Morrell before the Society of Antiquaries, 21st Nov., 1771, but unfortunately is not included in the Archæologia published by that Society. He died at Campden in 1755, and is buried in the churchyard there. The following epitaph was upon his tomb, but Campden has not been mindful of the memory of one of her most distinguished sons, for no monument to him now exists in the church or churchyard.

"H.S.E. Georgius Ballard, Campoduni sui hand vulgare ornamentum : qui diurna artis illiberabilis exercitatione ita victum quæritabat, ut animum interea disciplinis liberalibus excultum redderet. In celebritatem et literatorum amicitiam eruditionis fama aliquando evocatus, et inter Academicos Oxoniæ adscriptus, otio floruit, nec ignobili, nec reipublicæ literariæ inutili ; quippe fæminarum, quotquot Britanniam scriptis illustrarunt, memoriam scriptor ipse posteris commendavit. Sed dum studiis intentus, vitæ umbratili nimium indulgeret, renum calculo confectus obiit anno 1755."

George Ballard's memory is cherished more at Oxford than in his native town. He left a valuable and very interesting collection of letters and other MSS. to the Bodleian Library which is still preserved there.

One more Campden man must be mentioned. Jonathan Hulls was spoken of in terms the reverse of commendatory in the inaugural address of our President for this year, and I have no doubt that his work in the various churches near Campden was not that of an artist or an antiquary. I believe, however, he was a thoroughly good and intelligent workman,—a kind of Adam Bede of his time and neighbourhood. But it is for another reason that he is mentioned here. In 1736 he took out a patent for "a machine for carrying vessells or ships out of, or into, any harbour, port, or river, against wind or tide, or in a calm." In the following year he published a description of what was in fact a projected steam-boat. There was an unsuccessful trial on the Avon at Evesham, and Hulls met with a good deal of ridicule. He had not the means, probably he had not the scientific knowledge or ability, to perfect his invention; but Gloucestershire people may remember with some satisfaction that it was a native of their own county, a Campden man, who first conceived, though he did not in its completeness contrive, the means by which mainly our nation's commercial supremacy is maintained.

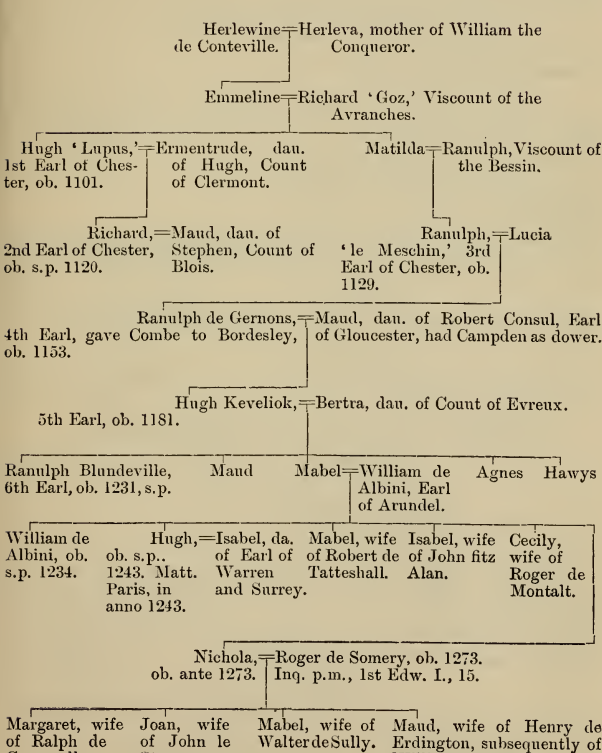
If this were a history of Campden there would be something to say of what has taken place there in more modern times, but this part of the annals of the manor and town does not seem to be in place in a contribution to the Transactions of an Archæological Society. Moreover Campden is distinctly a place of the past. It is no longer the residence of wealthy merchants. Its ancient corporation has been extinguished. The busy fairs for three days on the Feasts of S. James and S. George, and for one day on Ash Wednesday and S. Andrew's Day, have long been discontinued. The weekly market on Wednesday is no longer held. Gibson, in his additions to Camden's Britannia, notes it as "a market town famous for stockings." This its later fame has also departed. A silk mill existed about thirty or forty years

ago, but is now converted to other purposes, and the place has no special industry. It retains, however, in its outward aspect many signs of its old prosperity, and its inhabitants have shewn, by the recent enlargement of the Grammar School, and the restoration of their parish church, that they are not willing to let what their ancestors have done for them fall into decay, or remain unused or unimproved.

The last event I have recorded which can be called historical connected with the place which is the subject of this paper, is the burning of Campden House. The present generation has seen the building of a new Campden House, or rather the conversion of the ancient grange of S. Mary's, Bordesley, formerly known as Old Combe, to a residence for the Viscount Campden. Since I began the preparation of these notes there is a new bearer of this title. I may be permitted to hope that in years to come he will dwell by the little town which was so dear to him to whom it first gave a title, and dear also to those who have borne the title immediately before himself; and that the present Campden House may endure much longer to be the residence of its lords than did the first one, now that, whatever our differences, or even our contentions and strifes, we are all Royalists, and all Parliamentarians.

I must not conclude my paper without thanking those whose kindness has assisted me in putting it together. Among these are the Rev. J. A. E. Fenwick, who has been good enough to allow me to take notes from some MSS. in his Library at Thirlestaine House, and A. C. Hooper, Esq., who has been equally kind with regard to the Worcester Diocesan Registers. I have also to thank Col. Noel for lending me some very interesting letters of the late Rev. John Webb respecting the destruction of Campden House, and Samuel H. Gael, Esq., and the Rev. T. P. Wadley, for valuable information given to me. I must also gratefully acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. F. S. Forster, vicar of Campden, in allowing me to make extracts from the Parish Registers, and the Book of Churchwardens' Accounts,—extracts which will be particularly valuable if I am able at some future time to attempt a paper on the history of the Church.

Pedigree shewing the descent of the Manor of Campden from Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester.



PEDIGREE SHEWING DESCENT OF MOIETY OF THE MANOR OF CAMPDEN IN THE FAMILY OF JOHN DE LUDLOWE.

John de Ludlowe, did homage for moiety of manor 1286, ob. 1295. Inq. p.m. 23rd Edw. I. No. 29. = Isabel, jointly enfeoffed with her husband.—Close Roll, 23rd Ed. I. mem. 7.

Bogo de Ludlowe, aged 11 years at his father's death, ob. 1326.—De Banco Roll, 19th Edward II. Roll 249. = Agnes, claimed one-third of moiety as her dower in 1326.

William de Ludlowe, ob. 1349. Inq. p.m., 23rd Edward III., 1st numbers. No. 74.

Thomas de Ludlowe, aged 5 years at his father's death, ob. 1392. Inq. p.m., 16th Rich. II. No. 18. = Elizabeth, jointly enfeoffed with her husband. Inq. p.m., 50th Edw. III. 2nd numbers 43b.

Edward de Ludlowe, aged 21 years at his father's death, ob. 1409. Inq. p.m., 11th Henry IV. No. 18.

Margaret, aged 14 years at his father's death, ob. 1419. Inq. p.m., 10th Henry VI. No. 10. = Baldwin Straunge, ob. 1431. Inq. p.m. 10th Hen. VI. No. 10.

Elizabeth, aged 14 years at her father's death, ob. ante 1466. = Robert Molyneux, ob. 1466. Inq. p.m., 7th Edw. IV. No. 17.

John Molyneux, aged 19 years at his father's death, ob. 1473. Inq. p.m., 13th Edw. IV. No. 18.

John Joselyn, 2nd husband. = Cecily Molyneux, aged 9 weeks at her father's death. = John Fitzherbert, 1st husband.

Eustace Fitzherbert, ob. 1473. Inq. p.m., 10th Henry VIII. No. 135.

Joan, aged 2 years at her father's death, probably had manor of Perry, &c., co. Stafford.

Edward Smyth, 1st husband. = Elizabeth, ob. 1559. 1st wife = Thomas Smyth, ob. 1593. Inq. p.m. 42nd Eliz. part II. No. 128. = Katharine, dau. of Sir George Throgmorton, 2nd wife.

John, ob. s.p.

Grisigonon, w. of Andrew Joyner.

Anthony, son and heir, 30 years old at his father's death, sold manor of Campden to Baptist Hickes, circa 1608. | Thomas | Richard | 4 other sons | 7 daughters

PEDIGREE SHEWING SUCCESSION TO THE MOIETY OF THE MANOR OF CAMPDEN, KNOWN AS "STAFFORD'S MANOR."

Alice, dau of Count of Angouléme, 1st wife, divorced. = Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, surnamed 'the Red.' Acquired one fourth part of manor of Campden in 1289. ob. 1296. Inq. p.m. 24th Edw. I. No. 107. = Joan, dau. of Edward I., who afterwards married Ralph de Monthermer. ob. 1307. Inq. p.m., 35th Edw. I. No. 47.

Gilbert, aged 16 yrs at his mother's death, ob. 1314. Inq. p.m. 6th Edw. II. No. 68. = Margaret

John, ob. ante 1314.

Eleanor, wife of Hugh le Despenser.

Piers Gaveston, 1st husband. = Margaret, aged 20 years at her brother's death.

Hugh de Audley, 2nd husband, ob. 1347. Inq. p.m. 21st Edw. III. No. 50, 1st numbers. = Elizabeth, w. of John de Burgh.

Edmund de Stafford. = Margaret, dau. of Ralph Basset of Drayton.

Margaret, aged 30 yrs. at her father's death. = Ralph. Earl of Stafford, enfeoffed his brother Richard of his wife's share of Campden, 1348.

Isabel = 1st wife

Richard de Stafford, ob. 1380. Inq. p.m. 4th Ric. II. No. 51. = Maud, dau. and heir of Richard de Camville, 2nd wife.

Edmund de Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, ob. 1419. Inq. p.m. 7th Hen. V. No. 22.

Thomas de Stafford, knt., ob. ante 1419. =

Thomas de Stafford, aged 30 years at death of Edmund de Stafford, ob. 1425. Inq. p.m., 9th Hen. VI. No. 18. = Katharine

Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I., p. 159.

Sir John Anderne, knt. =

Richard de Stafford, aged 5 years at his father's death, ob. s.p.

Maud = Thomas, second son of Sir John Stanley, ob. 1463.—Banks' Baronia Concentrata, Vol. I. p. 414.

John Stanley, ob. circa 1476.—Banks' Baronia Concentrata. =

John Stanley, ob. 1508. Inscription on tomb at Northenden church.

Katherine = Sir John Savage, knt.

Humphrey Stanley, had grant of lands, &c. in Campden and other places belonging to Sir W. Norreys.—Harl. MSS. 433, f. 91b.

Christopher Savage, ob. 1512.—Fosbrooke's Gloucestershire, Vol. II. p. 308. =

Christopher Savage, sold moiety of Campden to Thomas Smyth, 1544. Inq. p.m. 42nd Eliz., Part II. No. 128.

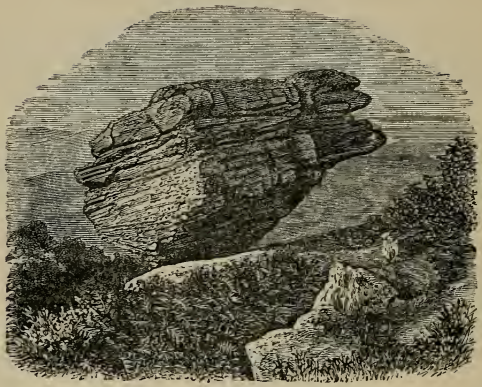


Fig. 9

"THE BUCKSTONE," IN THE PARISH OF DIXTON, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A.

We have, with much regret, to record the destruction of the famous and well-known object called "The Buckstone," which, though not situated in Gloucestershire, lay very near its boundary. It formed a prominent object on the top of a hill 891 feet above the level of the sea, and was one of the attractions to visitors to the Forest of Dean and the beautiful Wye Valley district. This unfortunate event occurred on the 10th June, 1885, on the occasion of a visit of some half-a-dozen strolling acrobats possessed of more energy than sense.

"The Buckstone" consisted of a hugh block of old red conglomerate, of which the hill upon which it stood is composed. The lower part of the block was formed of a stratum of sandstone of a softer character than the upper, which had become eroded by the effects of the atmosphere, so that it rested, as it were, on a pivot, and by the application of some degree of force at a particular part the hugh mass might be moved though not *rocked*.

According to an account given by Mr. W. H. Greene, of Chepstow, who carefully inspected the remains a few days after the overthrow, it appears that the massive block was pushed off its base and has fallen a few yards below on the declivity of the hill, broken into many fragments, the largest of which lie upside down. The block, however, appears not to have been thrown off *en masse*, for the lowest portion of it still remains *in situ*. It would seem that there was a fissure in the stratification, probably between the sand-stone and conglomerate, extending half-way across, as shewn by the discolouration of the stone so far, but the remainder is red and fresh. Hence, he says, "these enterprising strollers *actually broke the stone off its pedestal!* There can be no mistake about it. They must have exerted a force of no common nature." There is, however, great difference of opinion upon the subject. Sir James Campbell, crown surveyor of the Forest of Dean, takes a more favourable view of the circumstances. He says, "it would seem to have been more the result of foolish reckless romping than of intentional mischief."

It is not unlikely that the sand-stone stratum of the block had, in process of time, become distintegrated from atmospheric causes, and that a slight disturbance precipitated the calamity which, from natural causes, would in no long time have occurred.

The "Buckstone" was visited by this Society on the 23rd May, 1882, and a more particular description of it may be found in Vol. VI., p. 359, of the Transactions. In some of the newspapers it is stated to have been undoubtedly a Druidical altar, and some supposed accessories to such altars are particularly described. There is, however, no ground for such an opinion. It possessed rather a geological than antiquarian interest.

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

A HISTORY OF TAXATION AND TAXES IN ENGLAND from the earliest times to the present day. By STEPHEN DOWELL, Assistant Solicitor of the Inland Revenue, 4 vols., 8vo. London : Longman, Green & Co., 1884.

THE absence of knowledge among educated people, otherwise well informed, of the methods adopted in raising the public revenues in the early periods of our history would be surprising were it not the fact that there is not, so far as we are aware, any popular treatise upon the subject. No one of our historians has done more than touch its fringe. The only book relating to it, that we are acquainted with, is that of Madox, *On the History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, first published in 1711, a learned and excellent work now becoming somewhat scarce, and, moreover, far from being of a popular character. Truly, Sir Morton Peto published a treatise on Taxation some twenty years ago, but it deals only with our own times. Historical and political students and enonomists are therefore greatly indebted to Mr. Dowell for his able, erudite, and instructive volumes now under notice, in which he has cleared up what was before obscure in our fiscal history. His work is entirely exhaustive of the subject, and he has rendered it as interesting as it is lucid, accurate, and valuable.

Mr. Dowell begins at the beginning, but the space at our disposal will not admit of our following him in his treatment of the subject. Before the Norman Conquest there was not much in the way of systematic taxation, and no very marked change took place immediately upon that event, which placed all the lands of the kingdom in the hands of the Conqueror. He granted a large portion of them to his principal followers to hold of him direct by Military Service, and a large portion, especially those manors which had been held in ancient demesne by the Kings, his predecessors, he retained in his own hands, amounting at the time of the Domesday Survey to 1042 manors and lordships, besides farms and lands, in Middlesex, Shropshire and Rutland.

The demesne lands were divided into three parts :—

1. The Forest, which was the King's hunting ground, and which must also have furnished a quantity of timber.
2. The lands held by the King's rural tenants in villanage, rendering in lieu of a money rent, sheep, oxen, corn, &c. for the supply of the Royal household ; but this system led to unfair exactions by the King's servants, and it was abandoned for a commuted money payment according to the estimated value of the several supplies in kind ; and the estimate is curious as shewing the scarcity and consequent value of money at this period. So much was paid in lieu of a measure of corn for 100 men, for an ox one shilling, for a sheep a groat, and the same amount for provender for twenty horses.

3. The rents paid by the urban tenants in demesne, which included most of the Cities and Boroughs in the kingdom. The rents were received by the Sheriffs and paid into the exchequer, but the practice, like that in the rural districts, gave rise to abuses, and eventually the townsmen obtained an assessment of the value of their rents and farmed them of the King at a fixed annual payment. But in addition to their annual rents all the tenants of ancient demesne, rural and urban, were under an obligation to assist the King on special occasions of extraordinary expense. The King had also special prerogatives, such as *Purveyance*, the right to impress carriages and horses for removing his household from place to place, carriage of timber, &c. *Pre-emption*, the right to purchase provisions, &c., at an appraised value, and *Prisage*, the right to take from wine-laden ships, on their arrival at a port, a cask or two of wine according to the amount of the cargo.

The King had, moreover, other casual sources of income arising out of the nature of feudal tenures. The tenants in chief, in addition to the personal military services due from them, were bound to give what was called an *Aid* (auxilium) on three occasions of extraordinary expense, viz., 1st, when the King made his eldest son a knight; 2nd, when he first married his eldest daughter; and 3rd, for the ransom of his person if made captive in war. All these were ordinary sources of revenue, but on emergencies recourse was had to special assessments, for example, in 1084, in consequence of an apprehended attack of Sweyn King of Denmark, the King re-imposed the Danegeld, and, indeed, at a much higher rate than had ever before been demanded. In Saxon times the rate had been at 2s. the hide, but William assessed it at 6s. and this impost, though afterwards reduced to the original rate, continued to be paid down to the reign of King Stephen.

Upon the cessation of the Danegeld, and in lieu of it, in the time of Henry II. an imposition was laid upon the tenants of the King's demesnes of comparatively small amount, not extending to a tenth of their goods to which they were liable. This was of the nature of an Aid, but known as Tallage, and was collected when an expedition was to be fitted out. About the same time the King compounded with such of the Knights and Barons as, from any cause, were incapable of personal Military Service, for a money payment in lieu in proportion to the number of Knights' fees which they respectively held, which was known as *Scutage*. Henry II., however, when he took the cross at the time of the second crusade, introduced an entirely new system of taxation, in which all the levies which have been mentioned, scutage excepted, were merged. This was a levy upon all moveables of a very comprehensive character, reaching the landowner through his rents, cattle, corn, and other produce, and his farming stock; and the burgher through his furniture, money, and stock-in-trade, and extending to a tenth of their value. The ordinance for this levy provided:

1. That every one should that year give alms of the tenth of his rents and moveables, except in the case of Knights, their arms, horses, &c.; and in that of the clergy, their horses, books and clothing, and vestments and church furniture; and except the jewels of both clergy and laity.

2. The second section prescribed the manner of collection.

3. The third contains an exemption in favour of the clergy and knights who had taken the cross, and would serve personally in the expedition.
4. The fourth provided for the promulgation of the ordinance in every parish.

The scutage or composition for the Knights' personal service continued in use for more than a century, and the frequency of this and other levies caused great irritation, and was one of the causes of the quarrel between King John and his Barons which led to its being limited by Magna Carta to occasions only when sanctioned by the common counsel of the realm, except for ransoming the King's person, making his first born son a Knight and marrying his eldest daughter once, and it was provided that the aids for these purposes should be reasonable in amount. The assessments were made upon returns which the Barons and other tenants in chief were required upon their fealty to certify into the exchequer of the number of fees which they respectively held, and these certificates were entered in the Red Book of the exchequer, as of record, where they may be still seen ; and it should be remarked that when the King levied a scutage upon his tenants in chief they had a right to take scutage from their tenants holding of them by military service.

In the last decade of the 12th century another tax was introduced consisting of an assessment upon each carucate, or plough-land ; and Hoveden states that for this purpose the carucate was fixed at 100 acres.

The taxes on moveables continued in use for upwards of 150 years when it was superseded by an arrangement which rendered a fifteenth and a tenth a mere name for a fixed sum to be levied in the manner usual with respect to the taxes on moveables.

We should here refer to another very ancient source of revenue of pre-conquestal date. In very early times the traffic upon the sea was chiefly in the hands of foreigners, and a payment was required at the port of shipping or discharge on all goods exported or imported. Mr. Dowell considers it was in its origin a toll levied by the King in the nature of a premium upon an assurance for protection in port or elsewhere, which the merchants cheerfully paid, and such payments, from long continuance, were considered customary, and hence was derived the name of Customs, which is still continued.

Just before the commencement of the great war with France, arising out of the claim of King Edward I. to the crown of that kingdom, an important and entirely new change was made in the method of raising the direct taxes in this country. The fifteenth and tenths granted in 1332, though assessed and collected in the ordinary form, was found to have been enforced with greater strictness than usual, whilst the taxors, collectors and other persons employed in the business were accused of having corruptly applied a large portion of the sum raised to their own purposes. Accordingly on the grant of another fifteenth and tenth in the following year, in order to avoid all fraudulent oppression and extortion, the commissioners were directed to treat with the communities of the cities and boroughs, and men of the ancient demesne, and all others chargeable with the tax, and to agree with them for a fixed sum to be paid as a composition for the fifteenth and tenth, and this sum was to be entered on the rolls as the assessment of the

particular township, and this the taxpayers were to collect among themselves and pay into the exchequer, moreover such sums were thenceforward to form the basis of taxation on the grant of a fifteenth and a tenth. In the aggregate the sums amounted to about £39,000. If a larger amount were required a larger number of fifteenths and tenths was to be granted, but the fractional part was never to be altered. This arrangement continued down to the end of the 16th century, and indeed is still existing in the Land Tax, which is based upon the same principle. It is important to bear this in mind for it explains the apparent anomalies which students will have observed in examining the subsidy rolls.

A novel kind of subsidy of £50,000 was granted in 1371, which was to be levied on every parish in the kingdom at 22s. 3d., "so as the parishes of greater value should contribute rateably to those of less value." This led to a ludicrous mistake. The assessment was based upon an estimate that there were 40,000 parishes, but it was found that there were really not 9,000, so that in order to raise the sum required the parochial assessment, instead of being 22s. 3d., should have been £5 16s., and upon this basis a re-assessment was made, but in the following year a fifteenth and tenth was granted upon the old basis.

In 1377 another experiment was tried. A Poll Tax was granted of a groat a head for all persons above 14 years of age, non-fraudulent beggars excepted, but a sum of £22,607 only found its way into the exchequer. In the following year another Poll Tax was granted, to be levied upon a graduated scale from a Duke, who was charged £6 13s. 4d, down to a groat, but this also proved very unproductive, for the sum raised proved to be scarcely more than the last. Another experiment was made in the same direction the following year, which led to the insurrection under Wat Tyler, consequently the fifteenths and tenths was again resorted to. The method, however, under which these levies were assessed was far from being satisfactory. Much partiality was shewn by the assessors in the apportionment of the tax, the quota being often arbitrarily fixed, nevertheless it was more popular than any other system.

We have very briefly and imperfectly sketched some of the leading features of our mediæval taxation. We have not in this gone beyond the first volume. The space at our command will not admit of our extending it, though we may state that the later volumes are equally full of interest. The second treats of the subject from the Commonwealth to the present time. The third deals with direct taxes and stamp duties, and the fourth with taxes on articles of consumption. For particulars we must refer the enquirer to Mr. Dowell's work in which he will find a mine of wealth relating to all fiscal and economical matters, and much other very useful and interesting information, and all the difficulties of this obscure subject cleared up in very simple language. It would be difficult to overrate the value of the work.

THE ALGONQUIN LEGENDS OF NEW 'ENGLAND, or Myths and Folk-Lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Tribes. By Chas. G. Leland. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1884.

The ethnological and physical characteristics of the primitive tribes with

which our advanced colonists are brought into contact, afford indications of the particular family of mankind from which they sprung, but such characteristics give us no clue to the migrations of the people, the period during which they have occupied the district in which we find them, the degree of their mental culture, or the nature of their religious belief. For information upon these subjects we have no other resource than their language, oral traditions, legends and folk-lore. If upon a careful comparison of these, with those of other primitive races, we discover that in the main features they agree, we may conclude that the two races have a common origin, or that in their migrations they have been more or less closely associated. It may chance that the tribe in question may be rich or otherwise in mythic traditions, and it so happens that the American Indians with whom Mr. Leland became acquainted were particularly wealthy in this respect, and he being an ethnological scholar was able to realize the value of the traditions and myths handed down from remote ages, and though he does not appear to have formed any analysis of the language he has done good service in recording the folk-lore and mythical traditions of this interesting people before the time, which is rapidly approaching, when they will be completely lost.

The Algonquins are the most numerous and widely spread of the American Indians. They occupy the greater portion of the North American Continent and adjacent Islands, and embrace numerous families, speaking forty different dialects, and their traditions, also, though in the main much alike, are somewhat different. Belonging to this great tribe are the Micmacs of New Brunswick, the Passamaquoddies and the Penobscots of Maine, and the St. Francis Indians of Canada together with some smaller clans, who call themselves the Wabanaki. It was among these that Mr. Leland's investigations were chiefly made. He says he expected to find very little of traditions among these people being few in number, surrounded with white people and thoroughly converted to Roman Catholicism, they promised but scanty remains of heathenism. He was however amazed at discovering, day by day, that there existed among them, entirely by oral tradition, a far grander mythology than that which has been made known to us either by the Chippewa or Iroquois Hiawatha legends, and this was illustrated by an incredible number of tales. He soon found that these were very ancient. The old people declared that they had heard from their progenitors that all of these stories were once sung; that they themselves remembered when many of them were poems, and he says "this was fully proved by discovering manifest traces of poetry in many, and finally by receiving a long Micmac tale which had been sung by an Indian. He is of opinion that the original stock of all the Algonquin myths, and perhaps many more, still existed in Maine and New Brunswick, and that it is certain that these Wabanaki or North-eastern Algonquin legends give, with few exeptions, in full and coherently many tales which have reached us in a broken imperfect form, from other sources.

The large number of myths, legends and folk-lore which Mr. Leland has published has been collected by himself and friends entirely from aboriginal sources, and belong chiefly to the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots of Maine and the Micmacs of New Brunswick, all sections of the same tribe. He

abstains from commenting upon them, saying that when the Indian shall have passed away there will come far better ethnologists than himself "who will be much more obliged to him for collecting raw material than for cooking it." He considers that there is an undeniable affinity between the myths and legends here collected and those of the Eskimo, and that the latter are identical with those of the Finns, Laplanders and Samoyedes, and that the material which he has collected will be of value to the student of the relations of the Aborigines of America with the Mongoloid races of the old world.

The central figure in the Wabanaki system of mythology is a demi-god or hero, who, while always great, consistent, and benevolent, and never without dignity, presents traits which are a great deal more like Odin or Thor than anything in the characters of the Chippewa Munobozho or the Iroquois Hiawatha. The name of this divinity is Glooskap. According to the Wabanaki legend he was the first-born upon earth. He was the good principle, and his twin brother, was named Malsum—the wolf, or evil principle. The unnatural and extraordinary birth of the latter is almost identical with that of the giant first birth described in the Norse Edda, and Mr. Leland affirms that the mythology of these North-eastern Indians is literally so nearly like the Edda itself that there is hardly a song in the Norse collection which does not contain an incident found in the Indian poem legends, while in several there are many snch coincidences.

The second was that of Man whom Glooskap created out of an ash tree, and Mr. Leland points out that the ash and the elm in the Edda were the Adam and Eve of the human race. As Glooskap and Malsum grew up, the latter, the bad principle, continually endeavoured to thwart the benevolent desires and actions of the former, and from a spirit of malicious envy sought his life, so that Glooskap for his own preservation was constrained to destroy his brother.

Glooskap, as we have said, was of a very beneficent disposition. His sole employment was the performance of kind offices, though many of his good actions were performed in a very quaint and humorous manner. His character possesses a breadth and vigour far surpassing Longfellow's Chippewa Hiawatha. He is a magician and sorcerer of unlimited power. The tales and legends record his adventures and doings and those of his companions. They are remarkable for fertility of invention, and withal for the most child-like simplicity. Their origin may well be of great antiquity, though many of them have evidently been much modernized, especially as regards the smoking habits depicted. There is something quaint in a whale being represented as smoking a pipe. When Glooskap had defeated and destroyed all his enemies, consisting of giants, sorcerers, and magicians, and all manner of ghosts, devils, witches, cannibals and goblins, he thought his work was done. But a certain woman told him there was one whom he could not conquer,—the mighty Wasis.

"Now Wasis was a baby. And he sat on the floor sucking a piece of maple-sugar, greatly contented, troubling no one.

"As the Lord of Men and Beasts had never married or had a child, he knew nought of the way of managing children. Therefore he was quite

certain, as is the wont of such people, that he knew all about it. So he turned to Baby with a bewitching smile and bade him come to him.

"Then baby smiled again but did not budge. And the master spoke sweetly, and made his voice like that of the summer bird, but it was of no avail, for Wasis sat still and sucked his maple-sugar.

"Then the Master frowned and spoke terribly, and ordered Wasis to come crawling to him immediately. And Baby burst out into crying and yelling, but he did not move for all that.

"Then since he could do but one thing more the Master had recourse to Magic. He used his most awful spells, and sung the songs which raise the dead and scare the devils. And Wasis sat and looked on admiringly, and seemed to find it very interesting, but all the same never moved an inch.

"So Glooskap gave it up in despair, and Wasis, sitting on the floor in the sunshine, went *goo! goo!* and crowed.

"And to this day when you see a babe well contented, going *goo! goo!* and crowing, and no one can tell why, know that it is because he remembers the time when he overcame the Master who had conquered all the world. For of all beings that have ever been since the beginning, Baby is alone the only invincible one."

Soon after this disastrous defeat Glooskap disappeared, but is expected to return and destroy the world and all the wicked.

The legends and tales are interesting to the general reader and well worthy the attention of the ethnological student.

THE NATION IN THE PARISH, or Records of Upton-on-Severn, with a supplemental chapter on the Castle of Hanley, by EMILY M. LAWSON, with a Glossary of Local Words and Phrases, by ROBERT LAWSON, M.A., sometime Student of Christ College, Oxford; Rector of Upton-on-Severn, and Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral. London: Houghton & Green; Upton-on-Severn: W. E. Cooper.

PAROCHIAL Histories, especially if written, like that before us, in a light chatty style are of great interest and deservedly popular. A man who does not care to know something of the history of the place in which he was born or the neighbourhood in which his life has been spent, or of his forefathers or predecessors there, must be a very dotard. The parish chests in ancient parishes, even now, notwithstanding the neglect they have suffered for some scores of years, often contain much that is of national value, as do also the muniment rooms of old manor houses if carefully examined by persons of intelligence, and this is shewn by Mrs. Lawson's charming little work at the head of this article. This is a second edition of a work she published many years ago under the title of "Records & Traditions of Upton-on-Severn," now out of print; but having obtained, she says, "much fresh information connecting the history of our parish with that of the nation," the new edition has become a New Book, and we thank her for its issue.

Upton is undoubtedly an ancient place, but whether or no it was the Upocessa of the Romans may admit of doubt. We may be content with something more modern, and Mrs. Lawson's description of it in the time of the Norman Kings and throughout mediæval times, though slight, must suffice. Mrs. Lawson's strength lies in the later period. In or about 1632 the King in order to supply the necessities of the state determined to sell some of the crown lands, and, among other properties, proposed to sell the Royal Chase of Malvern. This would greatly interfere with the privileges of common, &c., which the peasantry had for centuries enjoyed in the forest, and the proposal caused such an angry feeling in the neighbourhood as produced rioting and tumult. The Worcestershire gentry also shewed such strenuous opposition that the King consented to modify his intention. It was arranged that one third only should be sold, another third given to the Lords of the Manors in parishes which had included any portion of the Chase, the remainder being assigned as common ground for the people. This led to the immediate destruction of the magnificent timber of the forest and changed the whole face of the country. The bitter feelings against the King which had been engendered were not allayed by this concession, and before the newly enclosed fields had yielded their first harvest, or the cottages received their earliest inhabitants, men had begun to range themselves under opposing factions. In many parts of Worcestershire the gentry were loyal to a man, but at Upton a Mr. Lingwood was the only gentleman, with some yeomen and tradesmen, who in the dispute espoused the cause of the King. The rest were partizans of the parliament.

Soon afterwards the war broke out in earnest. Upton being situated on the highway between East Worcestershire and Hereford, and possessing a bridge over the Avon, was a place of considerable importance. Many times it was occupied by the respective hostile armies, and once it was surprised and taken by the Parliamentary forces. Mrs. Lawson gives us a vigorous and graphic account of the incidents of the war as it affected Upton and its neighbourhood, which will command the attention of the reader.

The Parish Registers are very early, reaching back to 1544, and, fortunately, have been well kept during most of the time. They consequently contain many curious and valuable entries. Old Parish Accounts have also been preserved. From these records Mrs. Lawson has culled numerous items which exhibit to us, as in a mirror, the appearance of the town and the manner of life and habits of the inhabitants. She also gives us an insight into the domestic life of the neighbouring gentry and much general information relative to various old families.

Upton was fortunate to possess some eminent men among its Rectors, but the most singular was Dr. John Dee. He was a man of great learning and ability, upon whom King Edw. VI. conferred a pension of 100 crowns, and though a layman was presented by the King to the Rectories of Upton, and Long Lednam in Norfolk. Whether or no he was ever instituted we know not, but he enjoyed the tithes and profits and appears to have lived in the parsonage at Upton. On account of his great learning he had the reputation of being a sorcerer and necromancer, and having barely escaped execution by the death of Queen Mary he was taken into the favour and confidence of Elizabeth. An interesting memoir of him is given by Mrs. Lawson in chapter VIII.

Mrs. Lawson gives us many examples of local folk-lore, instances of superstition and curious medical recipes, and much other curious information of a miscellaneous character to which it is impossible to refer in this notice.

The volume concludes with a valuable Glossary of more than 800 Worcestershire words and phrases by the Rev. Robert Lawson, whilst the etchings by C. Cattermole and G. B. Clarke, with which the book is is illustrated, are excellent.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES. By the Rev. W. BENHAM, B.D., F.S.A., Rector of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, Lombard Street. London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1884.

THIS truly is a very slight sketch of the Great Church of America, and is very disappointing, though it is not devoid of interest as far as it goes. It shews the difficulties under which, for a century and a half, the infant church in America suffered from the neglect of the English hierarchy and the jealousy of the English Government, as well as by the persecution of the sects, especially by the Puritan Pilgrim Fathers who settled in New England in 1620. The perplexities of the American Church were chiefly occasioned by the want of the necessary Episcopal organization. The sects could obtain their teachers without difficulty, but the ordination of a young man to the ministry of the church involved the difficulty and expense of a voyage to England, a matter not so easy at that time as in our own day, though for the long period we have mentioned the consecration of a bishop was earnestly sought in vain.

As early as 1702 the Church in Burlington, New Jersey, was established under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel then recently founded. A Mr. Keith was the first missionary appointed by the Society, but he remained not long, when the charge devolved upon John Talbot, Rector of Fretherne, co. Glouc., a man of great ability and energy of character, who devoted himself entirely to the Church in America. He founded the Church of St. Mary in Burlington the same year and was Incumbent thereof for the many years. From the first he was most urgent in his endeavours to have a Bishop sent out from England as a Suffragan of the Bishop of London, who was supposed to have jurisdiction in America. Solicitations, remonstrances and several visits to England were of no effect, though in 1711 the government withdrew their objection, and arrangements were being made for the consecration of a bishop, and so confident was the hope that a house was purchased in Burlington as a residence for the bishop when he should arrive. The death of Queen Anne in 1714, however, frustrated all their hopes for a while. In 1721 Talbot again visited England to make a last effort, having sold some of his land to pay his expenses, but again was he disappointed; but so urgent did he deem the necessity that it is believed he was himself induced to accept consecration from Ralph Taylor and John Weton, nonjuror bishops. He returned to Burlington, but he never publicly assumed the office of a bishop nor, it is believed, exercised it. We mention these circumstances in the history of the American Church because Mr. Benham fails to notice them, though he does (p. 61) allude to

the purchase of an Episcopal residence at Burlington. Probably he has never seen Dr. Hill's valuable "History of the Church in Burlington" (1876).

Notwithstanding every effort on the part of the American Church to obtain the Episcopate she did not succeed in her desire until 1784, as we were reminded from the recent Centenary Celebration, and then, to the perpetual disgrace of the English bishops, not from the Church of England, for Seabury was consecrated by the bishops of the Church of Scotland.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY: being a classified collection of the chief contents of *The Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by George Laurence Gomme, F.S.A. *Popular Superstitions.* London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, 1884.

The third volume of Mr. Elliot Stock's series of *The Gentleman's Magazine Library* maintains the high character of its predecessors. It treats of *Popular Superstitions*, and may be regarded as a sequel to the first volume on *Manners and Customs*, and the editor informs us that so full is "the delightful old magazine" of notices of Popular Superstitions that another volume will be required to complete the subject. This projected volume will contain Fairy Beliefs, Legends and Traditions, Prophesies, Dreams and Ghost Stories, and Superstitions of Foreign Countries. We are confident the subscribers will heartily welcome this additional volume.

The sections of the subject contained in the present volume are;—*Days and Seasons, Superstitious Customs and Beliefs and Witchcraft.*

The first section relates to the superstitious customs attached to certain days and seasons. The days and seasons mentioned are chiefly the Festivals and Fasts of the Church; although the observance of these seasons cannot be regarded in itself as superstitious, there are, nevertheless, ancient customs which have been authoritatively incorporated into some of these observances from the time of the first introduction of Christianity into this country which are the survivals of Pagan usages. These must be admitted to be of superstitious character. The learned editor, referring to festival customs, says: "there can be no doubt that a great deal of older life is embraced in these Christian observances, and it will form a nucleus for the consideration of the Folklore of the Calendar, which has yet to be done by competent hands." Many customs appertaining to the Church's days, though of unknown origin, are not, strictly speaking, church observances, nor are they of a superstitious character. We allude to such customs as "Mothering Sunday," "Flowering Sunday," &c. The former prevails in Monmouthshire and other western counties. On Midlent Sunday domestic servants visit their parents and take them some little presents as a token of remembrance and affection. "Flowering Sunday" is observed also in the same district on Sunday next before Easter. It is the practice for members of a family to visit and decorate the graves of their deceased friends with fresh flowers. A little girl who was required to account for her absence from Sunday school said she had been with her mother "to flower her grandmother." These are simple and natural marks of affection which one would desire to encourage, and do not seem to possess any element of superstition. Nor do

we see any reason to condemn Mayday and other similar games, provided they are conducted without indecorum or disorder. Many of such customs, of a like harmless nature, and others of a different character, all of much interest, are treated of under this notice.

The second section on *Superstitious Customs and Beliefs* is illustrated by a large number of examples, many of them of a very curious character. Among the most remarkable are the details given of Papal superstitions in Ireland, which are almost incredible. Local superstitions arranged under counties are of much interest. Many of them are of the character of folklore. The ancient Book of Medical Recipes (pp. 154-164) may also be specially mentioned, and the Royal Touch for the King's Evil upon which there has existed difference of opinion. That many persons afflicted have received benefit from the ceremony is well authenticated, but whether or no it was the effect of the King's *Touch* who shall say? It appears that as many as 92,000 persons were touched by Charles II. between 1660 and 1682, as shewn by the register kept in the Chapel Royal (p. 171). The detail of the ceremonial is given (pp. 172-175). The Divining Rod is another subject deserving attention. This scarcely comes under the head of *superstition*. It dates from the time of Agricola, and is still practised, we understand successfully, in many parts of the country (pp. 148-152, 317-318).

The third section on *Witchcraft* opens with a dissertation on the general history of the subject and is continued with a county classification of examples.

The editorial notes at the end add much to the interest and value of the volume.

THE LORD OF THE MARCHES; or the Story of Roger Mortimer. A Tale of the 14th century. By EMILY SARAH HOLT. London: John H. Shaw & Co.

THE LORD MAYOR. A Tale of London in 1384. By EMILY SARAH HOLT. London: John H. Shaw & Co.

MISS HOLT'S two new Historical Tales, published during the last year, are further evidences of her literary ability and unflagging industry.

The first is a memoir of Roger Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, born in 1373, only surviving son of Edmund 4th Earl, who died in 1381, by Phillippa only child of Lionel Duke of Clarence, 2nd son of Edward III. who attained to man's estate. Roger was only eight years old on his father's death, being an orphan, for his mother predeceased her husband, he became a ward to the King. Miss Holt, in these as in her former works, closely adheres to historical facts, simply lighting up those facts by imaginative scenes painted with the fidelity of an accomplished artist. She traces the fortunes of the promising, amiable, and unfortunate young hero of her tale from his cradle to his grave at Wigmore Castle in the 25th year of his age. Roger's character throughout is well drawn, honest and straight-forward, impulsive, true-hearted and affectionate, he was beloved by all. He acted throughout his short life upon two maxims impressed upon him when a child by his grandmother, Phillippa Montacute, the Dowager Countess, when he was sent to his father in Ireland, of which Earl Edmund was then Viceroy, "Fais ce que doy, advienne que pourra": and "Un Dieu, un Roy, servir je doy."

The story of Roger's introduction, while a boy, to the Princess Dowager of Wales and the young King his cousin, is told with much effect, as also that of his interview, in 1385, with the King and their uncle the Duke of Gloucester, when it was announced to Roger that the King in the event of his dying without issue had selected him as heir to the throne. This was done at the instance of Gloucester who thought that Roger would be more amenable to his designs than the King was, and he was indeed the next heir. Gloucester, however, found his mistake.

The King in 1393, Roger being then 20 years of age, made him Viceroy of Ireland, but he was not to take upon himself the duties of his high office until he had obtained his full majority; and he did not proceed to Ireland until August in the following year. The King himself intended to visit Ireland in April of this year, but this was delayed through the death, by pestilence, of his beloved young Queen, and he did not proceed thither until the 24th June. He returned to London again in May, 1395, and Roger accompanied him. Early in this year there was great excitement among the Lollards with whom Roger, as well as the King, secretly sympathised, but Roger kept himself perfectly quiet and silent and was not in any way molested. The Duke of Gloucester and others had in the meantime been hatching treason of the deepest die. He sent for Roger and told him that he and his associates had determined that the King should be deposed and kept in dignified imprisonment for life, and that they desired that Roger should be their King. Would he consent? Roger received the proposal with the utmost horror, but dissembled his feelings, and as a matter of policy asked a little time to consider such momentous business. Very early the next morning he escaped with all haste to Ireland, alleging as a reason for his sudden departure that his Irish estates required his immediate care. When he had got the Irish channel between his uncle and himself he felt more at ease. The King, on discovering, to his great surprise, that his chosen heir had so unexpectedly disappeared on the plea of looking after his Irish property, sent him a commission of Lieutenancy of Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, a very satisfactory arrangement for Roger as it afforded him a justification for remaining in Ireland.

We need not refer to the great events which followed in England very soon afterwards. The treason was discovered and the traitors received their due, with one unfortunate exception. The King was weak enough to pardon the most dangerous, the Earl of Derby, who not long afterwards supplanted and murdered him. Roger came to England on a brief visit and again returned to Ireland, and was there slain by the Irish in a tumult on 20th July, 1398.

The second story, like the first, is based upon the proceedings of the Lollards, more especially in London. The author is a staunch Protestant, having a strong dislike to Romanism and Ritualism, and taking a warm interest in this new sect, accepting their doctrines, admiring their zeal and earnestness and sympathising with their sufferings; and truly there is much in their principles, as exhibited by her, which all may, with advantage, take to heart. The hero of this tale is John de Northampton, who was for two years Lord Mayor of London (1382-3). His origin and early life are obscure,

and Miss Holt, in a slight historical appendix, tells us more of him, and of some others of the principal characters in the tale, derived from official records, than was before known.

John de Northampton, *alias* Comberton, was a zealous lollard, and during the period of his office as chief magistrate of the city he endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to suppress wickedness and vice, which were rampant in those days as in these. In this, of course, he gave great offence to the populace who hated to be reformed, and especially, for what reason does not appear, to the Company of Fishmongers. He was himself a draper. On the conclusion of his second year of office one Sir Nicholas Brembre was elected Lord Mayor in his place. The citizens of London of the lower grades and the apprentices were always a turbulent and unruly set, and on the day of the election excitement ran high. The parties met, and a riot took place, some crying "a Northampton" and others "a Brembre." Northampton managed to escape in the confusion, but one John Constantyn, supposed to be na alderman, was seized by the order of the new Lord Mayor, and after the pretence of a trial was beheaded and his head set up on a pole on Ludgate. Northampton and others were arrested the following day and sent prisoners to Corfe Castle. Eventually they were brought to trial and sentenced to death, all their property being confiscated, though the next day, by the express command of the King, the sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. John de Northampton was sent to Tintagel Castle, in Cornwall, being the last prisoner of any importance confined in that fortress. Here he languished for several years, but on the return of the Duke of Lancaster, who favoured the lollard party, from Spain, Northampton and the others were liberated from prison and eventually pardoned and their property restored.

This is the skeleton upon which Miss Holt has founded her story. All the principal characters are real personages, though the subordinates and the details are fictitious. She clothes her skeleton with life without distorting the facts of history. In attributing John de Northampton's misfortunes and sufferings to his zeal for religion she is probably to some extent right, though it might be zeal of a fanatical character without discretion—and earlier writers say it was for his unruly mayoralty and quarrels with the fishmongers that he was cast into prison and his goods confiscated.

THE HISTORY OF LAUNCESTON AND DUNHEVED, in the County of Cornwall. By RICHARD PETER, Town Clerk of Launceston, and his son OTHO BATHURST PETER, Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Plymouth: W. Brendon & Son, George Street, 1885.

WE have read this work with much interest and satisfaction. It is remarkable that the history of the ancient Castle of Dunheved and town of Launceston has never before been attempted, and it is fortunate that the task has been assumed by two gentlemen so well qualified to execute it. Their local knowledge has been a great advantage in the identification of the present names of places with the names of the same places as written in ancient records. The authors describe 33 different modes of writing Dunheved and 21 of writing Launceston. The variations in the first name

are not of much consequence. Many of them are evidently merely contractions for which, unfortunately, here and generally throughout the work, the authors have omitted to use the proper forms. The word is essentially the same throughout. The authors give the meaning as "Hill head." This is, however, we think, scarcely correct. *Din* or *Dun*,[1] Celtic words which signify not merely a hill but an elevated stronghold, or castle, *heved* would be head, and we should read it as the hill castle, or castle on the head or top of the hill. The second name presents greater difficulty, and we will not attempt to deal with it. The whole subject of derivations abound with pitfalls into which those who are lured on by the fascination of the study frequently stumble.

The two names have been very much confused in Cornish History, indeed for some centuries past they have been used synonymously, but the authors have shewn that anciently they represented two distinct places. Whilst Dunheved was strictly limited to the castle and its precincts, Launceston was applied to St. Stephen's on the opposite hill, where was a collegiate church dedicated to St. Stephen before the conquest. It is shewn in Domesday Book that the Canons of St. Stephen held in the time of King Edward Lauscaveton (Launceston), containing 4 hides, &c., and a market of the annual value of 20s ; and from the same record it appears that the Earl (Moreton) held Dunhevet with its castle and one hide, and that the Earl had taken from Lanscaveton its market and transferred it to Dunhevet.

The authors state that a hide contained 120 acres. It had, however, no definite area. That depended upon its value, not only in respect to the fertility of the soil but the vicinity of a market for the sale of the produce, or any other circumstance which might enhance its value. Again, in respect to the area of an acre, although in certain cicumstances the term might be applied to a field of any size, Mr. Eyton has shewn us that the Domesday acre was in area about equivalent to the acre as afterwards fixed by the Statute 33rd Edward I., and still continues in force.

The book is divided into sections, each of which is treated of separately, beginning with the ancient Priory of St. Stephen, a college of secular canons presided over by a Dean, and King Henry I., finding them inadequately provided for, granted the house to William de Warlewarst, Bishop of Exeter, who, having also obtained from the Dean a cession of the rights of himself and the canons, refounded the House for regular canons of the order of St. Augustin, and at the same time removed the site of the House from St. Stephen's to St. Thomas's in the valley adjoining Dunheved. Reginald de Dunstanville, illegitimate son of Henry I., confirmed to the burgesses of the town of St. Stephen's all the liberties and franchises which had been reserved to them when the Earl of Moreton transferred their market *to the new Town of Dunhevet*, and from that time the history of the priory is carried down to the dissolution of Religious Houses by King Henry VIII. ; and thence to the grant of the possessions of the priory, from time to time, by the crown to divers persons. Extracts are given of an ancient Rental dated in 1474, belonging to Mrs. Lawrence of Launceston, and we notice that in describing the services of 44 *free* tenants of Launcestonlond it is stated that they

1 There are numerous instances in which *dun* is used in this sense, *e.g.* Dundagel in the same county.

"ought to plough and reap at Neuhous." It seems to us remarkable that *free* tenants, in respect to their *free* tenements should have to perform these base services.

An account is then given of the foundation by the Prior and Canons of Launceston of the Lazar Hospital of St. Leonard, and the history of this institution is traced down to the happy extinction in England of this loathsome disease, and the grant by James II. of the lands, &c , to the mayor and commonalty of "Dunheved, otherwise Launceston," for the better support of the sick poor.

We next have the history of the Borough of Newport—the New Port or Gate—comprising the little suburb which had grown up beyond the wall of Dunheved under the protection of the Priory of St. Thomas. While Henry VIII., for the want of a son, was himself holding the Duchy of Cornwall he issued a writ to his own little village of Newport requiring them to send two burgesses to parliament. The town itself described as the Borough of Newport, otherwise Lanston, as well as the church, had fallen into such a state of ruin and decay a quarter of a century later, that King Philip, husband of Queen Mary, alone, for the relief of the Borough, granted to the inhabitants a fair to be held annually within the Borough. This section concludes with a statement of the foundation of Horwell's school and a list of the burgesses sent to parliament from Newport down to the year 1831.

We next have the history of Dunheved, which appears to have been a Borough by prescription before the Conquest, and King John confirmed to the burgesses of Helleston all the liberties and free customs which the burgesses of our Castle of Launceston had in the time of our grandfather King Henry. Abstracts are given of a large number of ancient charters, deeds and court rolls, accounts relating to the borough, some from Mrs. Laurence's MSS. and others from the muniment room of the borough. These are of singular interest as illustrating the history and condition of the borough, its customs and the manner of life of the inhabitants, and also of pedigrees of not a few of the families of gentry in Devon and Cornwall. These records extend from the 13th century down to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The ancient Castle of Dunheved is a very remarkable structure, almost unique in character. The building stands on the top of a conical hill almost equilateral in section, truncated at the top. The base is nearly 300 feet in diameter and it rises 120 feet to the place at which it is flattened to an area of about 90 feet in diameter to receive the building, and this cone was protected on its most defenceless side by a wet ditch. It is a natural hill much scarped to give it its present form. The description given of it by the authors is very clear and accurate. They attribute its date to the first half of the 11th century, and at an earlier period it doubtless was a Saxon fortress consisting of a mound or motte defended by pallisades.

To the Castle and Honour of Launceston or Dunheved were attached 233 Knights' fees. Of these, in 1338, 68 were in the Duke's hand, 71 were held by John Dynam by the service of providing 71 men fully equipped to guard as many kernals on the castle for 40 days, 59 by Reginald de Valletort,

and the remainder by divers Knights and gentlemen, all probably by the same service as John Dynam. These fees were all fees of Mortaigne (Moreton) a term which has puzzled the authors, who enquire what it means. These fees were commonly called *parva feoda Mortonie* and paid less for escuage than ordinary fees in the proportion of three to two, that is three fees of the Honour of Moreton was reckoned as about equal to only two ordinary fees. Most of the fees of the Duchy of Cornwall in the two western counties were of these small fees.

It is very desirable that the fees of the Honour of Launceston should be identified. It would not be a very difficult task, and I venture to commend it to the authors when a new edition of this work is called for, which, probably, will be in no long time.

The local incidents of the civil war as it affected the town of Launceston are very interesting, as is also the account of the rebuilding of the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen and the description of the handsome edifice (now the parish church) and the misfortunes of Henry Trecarel, the munificent benefactor of the work. Much information of a curious kind is given of the modern history of the town to which we need not here further advert, and the volume closes with a List of the Mayors almost complete from the 13th century to the present time, and of the Burgesses returned to parliament during nearly the same period.

The book reflects the highest credit upon the authors, though there are, as is unavoidable in a work of this nature, mistakes and omissions. The authors have made the best use in their power of the various and valuable materials at hand, but there may be found much more of great value in the Public Record Office and the office of the Duchy of Cornwall. We would also direct the attention of the authors to the Cartulary of the Priory of Launceston in Lambeth Palace Library, which, we may say, is awaiting publication.

THE MARRIAGE, BAPTISMAL & BURIAL REGISTERS, 1571 to 1874, and MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, Austin Friars, London, with a short account of the Strangers and their Churches. Edited by William John Moens. (Privately printed) Lymington, 1884.

Great interest has been taken for several years past in the history of the Foreigners who took refuge in this country from the religious persecutions to which they were subject in their own. Probably this has primarily arisen from among the descendants of the immigrants, as was most natural, but it has by no means been confined to them. All English genealogists must necessarily take an interest in the subject when among the refugees there are found such names as Baring, Bentinck and others which have enriched our Peerage.

In his preface Mr. Moens gives an account of the Dutch settlements in England, and of the Registers of Baptisms, &c., of their different religious bodies, whilst the Historical Introduction affords interesting information concerning various immigrations from the time of our Norman Kings down

to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and gives a complete history, both secular and religious, of the various bodies of strangers; from which it appears that they did not altogether escape persecution, though of a different character, in the land of their adoption, especially in the reign of King James I. Morever, in the course of this disquisition some new facts are brought to light with reference to the production of our first complete English Bible, translated by Miles Coverdale and William Tyndale, printed in 1540, and known by the name of the first.

Mr. Moens has arranged the entries in the Registers alphabetically. This has some advantages, but we should prefer the preservation of the original chronological order of the entries with a good index to the names.

To the registers Mr. Moens has added literal copies of all the sepulchral inscriptions in the church of Austin Friars, many of which are surmounted by the arms of the deceased very boldly engraved. He has also printed an Appendix containing a List of Ministers and of the Elders and Deacons of the church from 1520 to the present time. He also gives a List of the Strangers who have been ennobled and of those who have distinguished themselves as artists. Altogether the book merits our warm commendation, and we shall be very glad if Mr. Moens can see his way to print the Registers of the French and Walloon Protestants in the same manner.

DAYS AFOOT & EUROPEAN SKETCHES. By JAMES BAKER (author of *Quiet War Scenes, Poems & Translations*). London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

ROUND ABOUT HAIDA. By JAMES BAKER, (author of *Days Afoot, &c.* Cornhill Magazine, June, 1885.

"DAYS AFOOT," by Mr. James Baker (a member of our Society) is a very pleasantly, genially written, sketch of pedestrian excursions on the Continent of Europe, and is probably well known to many of our readers, but they may not readily identify "Round about Haida" with the same author, it being printed anonymously in the magazine.

Haida is a prosperous town in Northern Bohemia, little known to Englishmen as it is somewhat out of the ordinary track of tourists. Mr. Baker, however, made it his head-quarters from which to make excursions into the mountains by which the plateau on which the town is situated is surrounded. On one of these excursions, near Haida, he suddenly "came upon a sight," using his own words, "which wholly drew off his attention from road-side objects." We will give his own description of it. "Standing in a green, moor-like meadow, and towering up above the surrounding fruit trees to the height of some 200 feet, was an enormous hill of yellow sandstone, crowned with dark firs, looking from the first view but as an isolated mountain left by nature erect and distant from its sister heights. To man it appeared that this great block must be useless, and no sign of its utility could we see even when at the house that was overhung by its height."

This hill, natural and innocent as it appeared, was entirely honeycombed by excavations, consisting of staircases, galleries, halls, and rooms of various dimensions, all which are graphically described, but for the

description of this remarkable place we must refer the reader to the magazine. It was a strong-hold of a robber chieftain, named Mikisch Panzer, but its history ended in 1445 when it was stormed, captured and burnt by the confederated inhabitants of Zittau and Gorlitz. The place is called Bergstein, and Mr. Baker gives its history from 1327 to its last lord abovementioned.

Facts are stranger than fiction. We could scarcely have credited the existence of such an extraordinary place were it not sufficiently authenticated.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE INCISED AND SEPULCHRAL SLABS OF NORTH-WEST SOMERSETSHIRE. By R. W. PAUL, with Lithographic Plates, folio. London: Provost & Co.

THIS volume cannot fail to possess considerable interest for the members of the "Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society," relating as it does to a district so closely adjacent to the special field of the Society's work, and partly indeed (St. Mary's Redcliff) within it.

Mr. Paul states that the churches in north-west Somerset contain many handsome and interesting monuments which may be divided into three classes: (1) canopied monuments and altar tombs, (2) brasses, and (3) effigies and floor slabs of stone. As examples of the first class he mentions the effigy of Sir Richard Choke at Ashton, one of the Rodneys at Backwell, and those of the Newton family at Chelvey and Yatton; but he has not selected either of these for illustration, nor does he give any brasses. His illustrations are therefore almost wholly of his third class.

From St. Mary Redcliff the author has introduced seven plates containing fourteen figures, among which are incised slabs of great interest, some much mutilated, bearing imperfect Norman-French inscriptions in early Gothic letters. Also an effigy in ring-mail of the first quarter of the 13th century, supposed to be that of Robert Berkeley, Constable of Bristol Castle, and founder of St. Katherine's Hospital at Bedminster; also the effigy of John Lavyngton, incumbent of the church in 1393, whom Mr. Paul, following the error of Barrett, calls John Lamyngton, though his name is clearly written at the foot of the effigy as 'Johes Lavyngton," which in the illustration is unfortunately omitted. Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley has given a very accurate illustration of the effigy in Plate VII. of this volume, and she points out, also, that it is an effigy of a very uncommon type, for we rarely find an ecclesiastical effigy in which, as in this case, the subject is habited in a cassock, although a cassock is one of the most ancient of clerical vestures, and is still in daily use. Mr. Paul describes it as "a long flowing gown." He gives also the curious incised slab of William Coke, servant of the famous William Canynges, but does not introduce an illustration of either of the effigies of the Master, of which there are two in this church, one representing him in a secular dress and the other as Dean of Westbury. We have two effigies from Long Ashton, and the remarkable reclining wooden effigy of Sir John Hautville at Chew Magna. From Chelvey we have fragments of an interesting incised effigy of an unknown Knight, and another of the same class from Clevedon, much mutilated, and three effigies from Tickenham,

supposed to be of members of the Berkeley family. At Wrington there is a priestly effigy built into a garden-wall in the village, from which degraded position we hope it may be soon recovered and restored to the church. It is vested as for the altar. In conclusion we will mention two outraged effigies at Churchill. Until of late years they occupied their original site at the east end of the south aisle, doubtless in a chapel built by the persons represented for the repose of their bodies. But the church has undergone the process of what is called "restoration." In the first instance these effigies were removed into the churchyard, and after having been "cleaned and otherwise done up," doubtless *scraped* like the fine Joce effigies at Newland, and from these, as from them, all but a bit of the chain-mail has disappeared.

Mr. Paul has done well in preserving illustrations of these interesting monuments, especially the mutilated fragments of the early incised slabs, for in these days of "restoration," and the tasteless rage for tiles, they stand in great danger of destruction. Though his book is in some respects disappointing, we should be heartily glad if he would carry on and complete his work throughout the county, as has been so well done by Mr. Hartshorne for the County of Northampton.

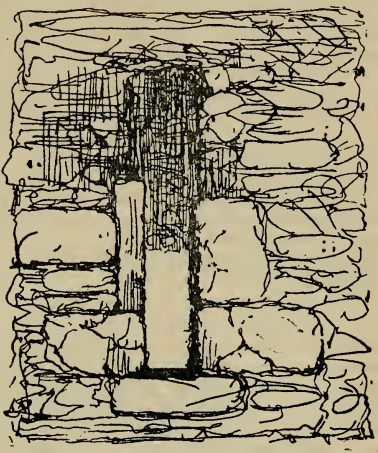
ECCLESIOLOGICAL NOTES ON SOME OF THE ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND. By T. S. MUIR. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1885.

THE Islands of Scotland are almost entirely unknown to Englishmen generally, and, irrespective of his ecclesiological investigations, Mr. Muir's topographical descriptions, which are written with much perspicuity, will be read with great interest. He would appear to have been in the habit of visiting some portion of the Scottish islands very often during several years. Mr. Anderson calls him "the veteran father of Scottish archæology," and expresses his obligations to him. "It is fortunate, indeed," he says, in writing of Mr. Muir's visits to North Rona, "that there is one man living whose devotion to ecclesiology has rivalled the devotion of St. Ronan himself, and drawn him, not once but twice, to visit its lonely shores." The results of these visits he from time to time printed in small tracts, or booklets, for private circulation among his personal friends. These are reprinted in the present volume in an enlarged form, prefaced by a chapter containing "General Notices" of the Islands, of wholly new matter, never before printed, by way of Introduction.

The number of ruined chapels which lie scattered throughout the Islands indicates that the population was much larger in the 12th and 13th centuries than it is now, though perhaps many of the chapels on these exposed coasts were of votive origin; but at what time the decay commenced it would be difficult to state. Dr. Johnson, in his "Tour in the Western Islands" in 1773, says, when writing of Raasay: "It is not only in Raasay that the chapel is unroofed and useless, through the few islands which we visited we never saw or heard of any house of prayer, except in Skye, that was not in ruins" (p. 96).

Mr. Muir, writing of Cara, one of the small Western Islands, states that: "It is somewhat less than one mile in length, low and gently undulating for the most part, but uprising abruptly towards the south end. It there terminates in a fine mural

precipice of considerable height. There is only one house in the island, situate on a flat grassy spot at the north end. Close by is a ruined chapel, of which, curiously enough, the circumstantial Martin says nothing. Its length, externally, is 29 feet, the masonry rude but with a good deal of character. The east and west ends are nearly entire. The doorway has been about the middle of the north side. The south side and the west gable have each a broken window. One in the north wall is flat in the head, and measures 3 feet 4 inches in length. All the others were likely of the same form and size. There is no aperture of any kind in the east end" (*fig.* 9.)



Window, North Wall, Cara. (*Fig. 9*)

Isla, a large island near by, he speaks of as being very interesting in its archæological character, sculptured slabs, pillar crosses, chapels, cairns, barrows and standing stones, belonging to various periods of old time being frequently met with. *Eilean Naomh* or Ilachaneue, the southernmost of a small group of islands, collectively called the Garvellochs, or Isles of the Sea, lying in a line about three miles west of Lunga, between Scarba and Mull, has long been quite deserted, to which circumstance perhaps may be attributed the preservation of the antiquities.

"Near the middle of the Island, on the east side, are a number of ruined buildings, one of them a rectangular chapel, internally 21 feet 7 inches in length, the walls almost entire, but both gables wanting. The only window is a square one in the east end, considerably splayed on both sides, but more so on the outside. Projecting from the wall on the south side of this window, is a shelf or table of slate, which, in all likelihood, was an altar."

The other buildings consist of several domed-roof cells built of dry-stone masonry, two of which are joined together, and have a doorway between. A plan of the structure is given in Mr. Anderson's "Scotland in Early Christian Times," p. 97.

"There is also an over-grown and almost obliterated burial ground south of the ruins; a water spring at the head of a narrow creek in the shore, called St. Columba's well, and a pile of loose masonry, like an altar, flanked by a slab incised with a cross, which, I was told, is the tomb of Eithne the mother of the illustrious saint."

At *Luing* he found this most remarkable and characteristic monumental inscription:

"Take notice. If any person take authority to Middle with this stone. Again see what Judgement came upon Kings . . . .

Here lies the corps of Alexander Campbell who lived in Achadnadure, and died on the 11th Novr 1829 aged 78 years.

. . . . . And I protest that no one go in my grave after me if not have the earnest of spirit to be a child of God as I am of election sure, of the same principle of Pure Presbyterian Religion, Covenanted cause of Christ and Church Government adhering to the Confession of Faith, Second Reformation Purity and Power of Covenants and Noble Cloud of Witnesses Testimonies that Jesus Christ is the head King and Governor of the Church and not Mortal man as their King now is. The Earth is the Lord's and not the Pope's Earth nor Popish Prelacy nor Popish Erastianism Either." . . . (p. 21)

Mr. Muir's account of his visit to Long Island, the long chain of insulated spots forming the Outer Hebrides is of great interest.

"It is perhaps," he says, "the least known to the modern tourist of any part of Scotland. The scenery is very unattractive, and throughout the whole length miserably provided with inns, but to one seriously bent upon something special, and willing to put up with a little roughing, the journey from the Butt of Lewis to Barra Head will be found by no means wanting in amusement and instruction." He describes the group as being "on the east side in most parts rocky, and broken into innumerable creeks and sea lochs of various lengths; in the interior, hilly, moorish, and bleak; and on the west side level and sandy, with cultivation here and there, and here and there lengthened stretches of thin pasture, variegated and perfumed in summer time by the clover, hyacinth, white daisy, butter-cup and sweet-smelling rue."

Of the various sorts of antiquities common to the western island —cairns, stone circles, duns, underground chambers and chapels of ancient date; specimens are to be met with more or less numerously in each of the five insulated portions of the Long Island.[1] To any of them, he adds, the short duration of my several visits (in July of 1856, 7, 8, 9 and 60) did not enable me to devote much attention; accordingly what follows must be taken as only shadowings of the archæological treasures of a region still all but entirely unexplored by the antiquaries of the present day.

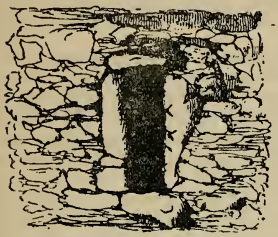
Many of these ancient remains are described by the author under each of the islands of the group, consisting chiefly of ruined chapels and half buried burying grounds, circles, crosses, &c., into which our space will not allow us to follow him, but his description of a church at *Balivanich Benbecula* in *North Uist* will justify our affording a few lines, it being of an unusual type in these remote regions. Quoting from the *Origines Parochiales*, Mr. Muir says:

"It is probably a chapel belonging to the Monks of Iona," and he proceeds to describe it as: "Externally 56 feet in length and 19 feet in width. All the windows—of which there is one in each end, three in the south wall, and a broken one near the east end of the ruined east wall—are flat-topped and very narrow, the east one being only five inches wide. Of all the elevations only the east one is perfect, or nearly so, but leans so threateningly forward from the perpendicular that it may come down in a lump any day, 'and when it does,' says a local tradition, 'by it a man will be killed.'"

On the island of *South Uist*, at a place called Howmore, near the middle of the island is a cluster of five delapidated buildings, two of them the churches of St. Mary and St. Columba, the others, in all likelihood, mortuary or votive chapels. Of the larger church, which was, internally, 60 feet in length, only the east wall (wanting the gable) containing a long broken couplet widely splayed inside, and looking like First-Pointed, is left. The

1 Of these islands the most northern, Lewis, was a portion of the Country of the Mackenzies, but the greater portion of the possessions of that Clan were on the mainland, embracing almost the whole of the County of Ross; whilst the remainder of this group, with a considerable part of the inner Western Islands, was the Country of the Macdonalds Clanranald.

other church is, internally, 54 feet 4 inches in length. Of it only the east end pierced with a narrow flat-headed window, and the altar remain. The window, of which the annexed engraving (*fig.* 10) is a representation, is 2 ft. in length and 6 ins. wide, extremely rude, but at the same time extremely picturesque." The chapels are of the same type, and in one of the burial-grounds, together with others defaced and broken, there was found one fine slab, carved with a sword, flanked by human figures, deer, foliage, &c., and surmounted by a square containing a radiated circle of elegant design. At *Kilbar*, on the Island of *Barra*, near the seat of the last Celtic proprietor, is what Mr. Muir describes as a horrid unenclosed burying-ground contaning three delapidated chapels very similar to those at Howmore, before described. The largest is 42 feet long, the end walls being nearly destroyed, but the north and south are



East Window, Howmore. (*Fig.* 10)

Kilbar, St. Mary. (*Fig.* 11)

almost entire. The north side has a rude triangular-headed doorway enclosed in a semi-circular arch, (*fig.* 11) and a triangular window on its east. Mr. Muir writing of this island states that "the internal aspect is not very pleasing, but all along the sea-line on the west side, and especially at a highly elevated point straight up from behind the village, the cliff scenery is amazingly grand."

He visited, not without difficulty in respect to the passage, the outlying *Flannain Isles*. *Eilean Mor*, the largest of these islands, about a third

of a mile in extent, and at most 290 feet high, rises out of the sea in mural precipices and very steep turfy slopes. Here he found some ancient structures of a curious character. One of these is a chapel dedicated to St. Flannan, from whom the islands derive their name. The island is at certain seasons frequented by fowlers, and the following curious custom is recorded of them by Martin, that

"when they (the fowlers) come within twenty paces of the Altar they all strip themselves of their upper garments at once, and their upper clothes being laid upon a stone, which stands there on purpose for that use, all the crew pray three times before they begin Fowling; the first day they say the first Prayer advancing towards the Chappel upon their Knees; the second Prayer is said as they go round the chappel; the third is said hardly on at the chappel, and this is their Morning Service. Their *Vespers* are performed with the like number of Prayers. Another Rule is, That it is absolutely unlawful to kill a Fowl with a Stone, for that they reckon a great Barbarity, and directly contrary to ancient Custom."

The chapel is a low quadrilateral building of uncemented stones, with slightly sloping walls and a stone barrel-vaulted roof rising from its spring to a height somewhat above the supporting walls. The structure is very rude in character, built entirely of dry masonry, the stones being of all sizes and shapes, fitted together with great nicety. The only aperture is the door 3 ft. in height and 1 ft. 10 ins. in width at the west end. (*Fig.* 12)

FLANNAIN ISLANDS.—West Elevation. (*Fig*, 12).

The most interesting spot visited by Mr. Muir was the remote island of North Rona, situated in the open Atlantic, some 38 miles north-east from Lewis and about the same distance from Cape Wrath, forming the northern apex of an equilateral triangle. Mr. Muir was there in 1857, at which period it had become entirely destitute of inhabitants, and again in 1860. Before proceeding to give his own account of the island as he found it, he relates its remarkable history from previous writers. These accounts are so singular and so full of interest as illustrating a type of civilization, existing, we may say, in our own country only a short while ago, among a people so primitive, so simple, so devout, and so innocent, that one cannot but deplore their sad fate. Notwithstanding the length of the extracts we cannot refrain from

giving them entire. The first authority is Donald Munro, High Dean of the Isles, who wrote in 1594 :—

"Within this isle there is ane Chappel, Callit St. Ronay's Chapell, unto quhilk chapell, as the ancients of the country alledges, they leave one spaid and one shuil, quhen any man dies, and upon the morrow finds the place of the grave markit with an spaid, as they alledge."

Sir George Mackenzie, writing about a century later, says :

"The island of Rona hath for many generations been inhabited by five families, which seldom excced thirty souls in all ; they have a kind of commonwealth among them, in so far if any of them have more children than another, he that hath fewer taketh from the other what maketh the number equal, and the excresence of above thirty souls is sent with the summer boat to the Lewes to the Earl of Seaford their master, to whom they pay yearly some quantity of meal stitched up in sheep's skins, and feathers of sea-fowls ; they have no feuel for fire upon the island ; but by special providence of God, the sea yearly casts in so much timber as serves them. Their sheep there have wool, but of a bluish colour. There is a chappel in the midst of the isle where they meet twice or thrice a day. One of the families is hereditary Beddell, and the master of that stands at the altar and prayeth, the rest kneel upon their knees and join with him. Their religion is the Romish religion. There is always one who is chief and commands the rest, and they are so well satisfied with their condition that they exceedingly bewail the condition of those, as supernumary, they must send out of this island."

Martin, writing about the same time, gives the following curious communication from the minister of Barvas relative to Rona and its inhabitants. After describing the situation of the island, which we need not notice, he says :—

"I had an account of this little Island and the custom of it from several natives of Lewis, who had been upon the place ; but more particularly from Mr Daniel Morison, minister of Barvas, after his return from Rona Island, which then belong'd to him, as part of his *Gleib*. Upon my landing (says he) the natives received me very affectionately ; and addressed me with their usual Salutation to a Stranger, *God save you, Pilgrim, you are heartily welcome here ! for we have had frequent Apparitions of your Person among us*, after the manner of the second sight, *and we heartily Congratulate your Arrival in this our remote Country*. One of the natives would need express his high esteem for my Person, by making a turn round about me Sun-ways ; and at the same time Blessing me, and wishing me all happiness ; but I bid him let alone that piece of Homage, telling him I was sensible of his good meaning towards me ; but this poor Man was not a little disappointed, as were also his Neighbours ; for they doubted not this ancient Ceremony would have been very acceptable to me ; and one of them told me, That this was a thing due to my character from them, as to their Chief and Patron, and could not, nor wou'd not fail to perform it. They conducted me to the Little Village, where they dwell, and in my way thither there were three Inclosures ; and as I entred each of these, the Inhabitants severally saluted me, taking me by the hand, and saying, *Traveller, you are welcome here*. They went along with me to the House that they had assigned for my lodging ; where there was a bundle of Straw laid on the Floor for a Seat for me to sit upon. After a little time was spent in general discourse, the Inhabitants retir'd to their respective dwelling houses, and in this interval they killed each Man a Sheep, being in all Five, answerable to the number of their Families. The skins of the Sheep were entire, and flea'd off so from the Neck to the Tail that they were in the form of a Sack : These Skins being flea'd off in this manner were by the inhabitants instantly filled with Barley meal ; and this they gave me by way of a Present, one of their number acted as Speaker for the rest, saying, *Traveller, we are very sensible of the Favour you have done us in coming so far with a design to instruct us in our way to Happiness, and at the same time to venture yourself on the great Ocean : Pray be pleas'd to accept of this small Present which we humbly offer as an expression of our sincere Love to you.* This I accepted tho' in a very coarse dress, but it was given with such an Air of Hospitality and Good-will, as deserv'd Thanks : they presented my Man also with some pecks of Meal, as being likewise a Traveller ; the Boat's-Crew having been in Rona before, were not reckon'd Strangers and therefore there was no Present given them, but their daily Maintenance.

There is a Chappel here dedicated to St. Ronan, fenc'd with a Stone Wall round it ; and they take care to keep it neat and clean, and sweep it every day. There is an Altar in it on

which lies a big Plank of Wood, about ten foot in length, every foot has a hole in it, and in every hole a Stone, to which the Natives ascribe several Virtues; one of them is singular, as they say, for promoting speedy delivery to a Woman in Travail.

They repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in the Chappel every Sunday Morning. They have Cows, Sheep, Barley and Oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of those Vices that abound in the World. They know nothing of Money or Gold, having no occasion of either. They neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want; they covet no Wealth, being fully content and satisfy'd with Food and Raiment; tho' at the same time they are very precise in the matter of Property among themselves, for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his Property; and every one must exactly observe not to make any encroachment on his Neighbour. They have an agreeable and hospitable Temper for all strangers. They concern not themselves about the rest of Mankind, except the inhabitants in the North part of Lewis. They take their Sirname from the colour of the Sky, Rainbow, and Clouds. There are only five Families in this small Island, and every tenant hath his Dwelling house, a Barn, a House where their best effects are preserv'd, a House for their Cattle and a Porch on each side of the Door to keep off the Rain or Snow. Their Houses are built with Stone, and thatched with Straw, which is kept down with Ropes of the same poised with Stones (1). They wear the same Habit as those in *Lewis*, and speak only Irish. When any of them comes to Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many People . . . . "

So far, writes Mr. Morison, but unfortunately the date of his communication is not stated, it would appear however to have been some time before Martin wrote, for that author proceeds as follows to relate the extraordinary and sad fate of this remarkable people :—

"About fourteen years ago a swarm of Rats, but none knows how, came into Rona, and in a short time eat up all the corn in the Island. In a few months after some Seamen landed there, who Robbed the poor People of their Bull. These misfortunes, and the want of a supply from Lewis for the space of a year, occasioned the death of all that Ancient Race of People. The Steward of St. Kilda, being by a storm driven in there, told me that he found a Woman with her Child on her Breast, both lying dead by the side of a Rock. Some years after, the Minister (to whom the Island belongeth) sent a New Colony to this Island with suitable Supplies. The following Year a Boat was sent to them with more supplies and Orders to receive the Rents, but the Boat being lost, as it is supposed, I can give no further account of this late Plantation."

We have no further account of the island until the visit of Dr. MacCulloch in the early part of the present century. He found there a solitary family consisting of one Kenneth MacCagie, his wife and children. An interesting description is given of them and their habitation, which very much resembled a Kamtchatkan hut; and also of the then condition of this desolate and deserted island, for which we must refer the reader to Mr. Muir's pages. We can only here refer to the very singular building called Teampul Ronan, situated on the southern side of the island. It may now be described, generally, in appearance, as a rounded heap of loose stones covered with turf. Internally, it consists of two parts constructed of dry-stone walling, like the other buildings in the islands of which we have been treating. Its singularity arises from its form. It consists of two parts like the chancel and nave of a church, of which the former, which is the Eastern, is, in Mr. Muir's opinion, the oldest by many hundreds of years, and was probably erected, he thinks, in the eighth century. It is on the floor 11 ft. 6 ins. long and 7 ft. 6 ins. wide, and the height is 9 ft. 3ins. The end walls lean inwards slightly, and the side walls very much, so that although they are 7 ft. 6 ins. apart on the floor they are scarcely 2 ft. apart at the roof, which is formed of slabs laid across from wall to wall. The entrance to this extraordinary edifice is as remarkable as its shape. It consists of a square

1 The same practice still exists in Cornwall in thatching hay-ricks and corn-stacks, &c.

doorway at the west end, "so low that you have to creep through on your elbows and knees." Over the doorway is a flat-headed window, without splay on either side, 19 ins. high and 8 ins. wide, and there is a similar window, an inch or two wider, near the east end of the south wall. The altar slab is 3 ft. in length, lying close to the east wall. In the position of the nave of a church in relation to its chancel, at the west end of the building, is another chapel of much later date as we have stated above, but alike rude in its construction. It is 14 ft. 8 ins. in length and 8ft. 3 ins. in width, internally. The walls are nearly all entire. A rude flat-headed doorway in the south wall, barely 3 ft. 5 ins. in height and 2 ft. 3 ins. in width forms the only entrance, and there is a small window of the same shape eastward of it. In the burial ground adjoining are several truncated stone crosses. The tallest one is 2 ft. 6 ins. high, which at the intersection of the arms is pierced with three small round holes, two and one—a very unusual device. This monument is the subject of a variously told tradition. It is obvious that this singular building could not have been the chapel alluded to by Sir George Mackenzie or Mr. Morison, mentioned above.

We have been drawn on with our notice of this interesting volume to greater length than we intended, and we must refrain from following the author in his excursions to the Orkneys and Shetland Islands, though we had noted many passages for special remark. His description of the islands is graphic and often humourous, and his observations on the various antiquities, consisting of rudely constructed buildings, such as are found throughout the islands, crosses, sculptured slabs, &c., and his relation of the legends, superstitions, folk-lore, &c., are of much interest, and will be read with pleasure and profit. The ancient buildings, we regret to learn, are fast disappearing, not only through neglect and the wasting hand of time, but from their more disastrous enemies (not unfortunately limited to Scotland)—the covetous greed and depredations of those whose duty it is to protect them instead of converting them into quarries.

DE NOVA VILLA; or THE HOUSE OF NEVILL in Sunshine & Shade. By Henry J. Swallow, *Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, &c., &c.* Newcastle-on-Tyne: Andrew Reid. London: Griffith Farran & Co.

This volume is of a popular rather than of a strictly historical character, or, perhaps, we should more properly say, that it treats of historical facts in a popular style. It is based on Rowlands' "Historical and Genealogical Account of the Noble Family of Nevill," of which sixty copies only were printed somewhat more than half a century ago, but the author of the present work states that he has "spent three years in independent research," the fruits of which will be seen in his volume.

Without commenting on the author's fabulous history of the origin of the family of Nevill, which like that of most other of our great families, is obscure, it will suffice to say that the Nevills were settled in Lincolnshire soon after the Norman conquest, and founded the Priory of Tupholm, and that throughout the whole of the history of the country they have been among the foremost in council and in war, and that their blood flows in the

veins of all the chief nobility and gentry of England and of the Royal family itself.

It is very remarkable that, with the trifling exception above mentioned, a family of such historical importance should never have found an historian, and we feel sure the reading public, especially those who take an interest in genealogy, will gladly welcome Mr. Swallow's work; and inasmuch as no continuous account of the family exists it may be well to give here a very brief sketch of it.

Ralph Nevill, Lord of Raby, was one of the Barons who at the parliament at Lincoln in 1301 signed the famous letter to Pope Boniface. He greatly distinguished himself in the wars in France and Scotland. John Nevill, his fourth son, was one of the few Englishmen slain at the great victory over the Scots at Halidon hill. Ralph, second son and successor of the above Ralph, and his son John were commanders at the famous battle at Nevill's Cross, and Robert, brother of the latter, was signalized for his bravery under the banner of the Black Prince at Cresey. John Nevill, last named, succeeded his father as Lord of Raby. He married first Maud, daughter of Henry Lord Percy, by whom, besides daughters, he had two sons, Ralph and Thomas. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Lord Latimer, by whom he had a son John, who, on his mother's death, succeeded to that Barony and died s.p., and two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Willoughby, Knt., and Margaret died s.p.

Thomas, the second son of John Nevill, Lord of Raby, married first Joane, daughter and heir of William Lord Furnival, and was summoned to parliament as Baron Furnival. By this marriage he had an only daughter named Maud, who married the famous John Talbot, who was in her right summoned to parliament as Lord Furnival, and was afterwards created Earl of Shrewsbury. Thomas Lord Furnival married, secondly, Ankaret daughter of John Lord Strange and relict of Sir Richard Talbot.

Ralph son and heir of John Nevill, Lord of Raby, became one of the most eminent nobles of the age in which he lived. He was by Richard II. created Earl of Westmoreland, and granted many high offices of state, but he proved disloyal to the Prince who had conferred so many favors upon him, as well as treacherous to his kindred and friends, in adopting the cause of Henry of Bolingbrook, and fighting against and betraying those who trusted him. He was, of course, rewarded by the supplanter, who granted him the office of Earl Marshal of England and created him a Knight of the Garter. He was a brave commander and fought valiantly at Agincourt. He married twice, his first wife being Margaret, daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford, and his second, Joan, legitimated daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. By these two wives he had twenty-three sons and daughters of whom presently.

John Nevill, his son and heir, was made Warden of the West Marches, and served in the French wars with distinction. Holingshed describes him "as a man as politique in peace as hardy in warre, and yet no more hardy in warre than merciful when he had the victory." He died before his father, and his son Ralph succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Westmoreland.

Ralph had a son John, a zealous Lancastrian, who was slain fighting for that cause at the first battle of St. Alban's, in his father's lifetime, and died s.p. Another John, his uncle, fell in the same cause at Towton, whose son Ralph succeeded his uncle Ralph as third Earl of Westmoreland.

Charles, the sixth Earl, and the Earl of Northumberland, were the leaders in the great rising in the north, in 1667, for the deliverance of the Queen of Scots and more especially the restoration of the old religion. This insurrection appeared at first to be very formidable and produced the utmost consternation among the Queen's ministers, but eventually it came to nought. The Earl of Westmoreland escaped into Flanders, but the Earl of Northumberland died a traitor's death, and their followers were executed with the most barbarous cruelty, whilst the unfortunate wife and the innocent infant daughters of Lord Westmoreland were subjected to the greatest hardships and suffering. Charles Nevill died in Flanders, attainted, involved in debt and misery, in 1601, without issue male, and the Earldom of Westmoreland, in the name of Nevill, became extinct.

We have mentioned that Ralph the first Earl of Westmoreland by his two marriages had twenty-three sons and daughters. From the great matches made by these children, and from the affinities which had been already created by previous marriages of the family, the House of Nevill become stronger in alliances than any other House in Christendom. Earl Ralph's children by his first marriage we have already disposed of. Of his fourteen children by Joan Beaufort, some were still more distinguished in history than those of the ancient House of Westmoreland. Richard, the eldest son, married Alice, sole daughter and heir of Thomas de Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and upon the death of her father he obtained that title. He and his son Richard, known as the King-maker, who, by his following, was sufficiently strong in those troublous times to put down one King and set up another at his will, were two of the most powerful Barons England ever produced. Their history is too well known to need any further remark here, but the details given by Mr. Swallow will be read with interest. William the second son of Earl Ralph married Jane daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Fanconberg, and in her right succeeded to that title. He greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Orleans, as well as at the battle of Towton, and in recognition of his eminent services was created Earl of Kent, Lord High Admiral of England, and Knight of the Garter, but died s.p.

John son and heir of Ralph Nevill of Raby, second Baron, who distinguished himself at Nevill's Cross, as stated above, was married to his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Lord Latimer. His son John was summoned to parliament in right of his mother, and died s.p., leaving his two sisters, Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Willoughby, and Margaret who died s.p, his heirs. Many of the estates in virtue of an entail devolved upon, as the elder half-brother, Earl Ralph, who settled them upon his third son George, and he was summoned to parliament as Lord Latimer. He was one of the chief commanders of the King's forces in the north against the Scots. His son and heir, Sir Henry Nevill, was slain at Edgate in the lifetime of his father, and Richard his son succeeded on the death of his grandfather as Lord Latimer.

Edward Nevill, the sixth son of the first Earl of Westmoreland, married Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, Lord Bergaveny, and was summoned to parliament in her right as Lord Bergavenny, the Earldom having become extinct for lack of heirs male. From him have descended the Barons Abergavenny and Braybrook now existing, whose genealogy is given in detail.

Cecily, the youngest of this remarkable family, who was famed for her beauty, married Richard the Great Duke of York, and became the ancestress of seven Kings of England, four Princes of Wales, four Kings of Scotland, one Queen of Spain, and one Queen of Bohemia, as also one Prince Elector of the Rhine.

We have not noticed the Churchmen, Archbishops, and Bishops of the House of Nevill, nor shall we allude specially to the Nevill Knights contemporary with the Lords of Raby.

With a few pleasantly-written chapters on the Ancient Baronial Seats of the Nevill family, and their haunts and homes, with some remarks on their monuments and seals, the author closes a work marked by very wide reading and research and compiled in a very graceful and agreeable manner. We can only wish him the success he deserves.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MR. J. PYM YEATMAN, whose great work on the House of Arundel and some other of his publications we have noticed in previous volumes, is preparing for the press a *History of the County of Derby*, a work greatly to be desired. Although very valuable collections, made by S. Lysons, Dr. Pegge, Suckling Wolley, &c., exist in MS. in the British Museum (Addl. MSS.) so far as we know, no complete history of this county has appeared in print. Here, irrespective of his own researches among original records, and we have had evidence of his industry in this respect, Mr. Yeatman will find much valuable material at hand, and we trust the work he will produce will be worthy of the subject.

MR. JOHN ORLEBAR PAYNE, M.A., is about to publish an account of the *The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715*, being a Summary of the Register of their estates, with Genealogical and other Notes, and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents in the Public Record Office. To the text of each name will be added, where possible, brief biographical or general notes, the sources from which these notes have been derived being in all cases given. Information on these subjects has not been derived from printed books only, but also from the Close Rolls, the British Museum, Probate Court and other sources of evidence. The publishers are Messrs Burns & Oates, 28, Orchard Street, London.

THE BERKELEYS OF DURSLEY DURING THE 13th AND 14th CENTURIES.

By SIR HENRY BARKLY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., &c.

It has been shown in a previous paper,[1] that on the decease, early in Henry III.'s reign, of the last of the *five* Roger de Berkeleys who had flourished in succession since the Conquest, the representation of the original family devolved on his son and heir,

Henry de Berkeley.

The new Lord of Dursley can only just have attained his majority, if Hawise, his mother, was Hawise Paynel, widow of John de Somery, whom his father got the Royal license to marry in 8th Richard I. (1197),—for he was enfeoffed before the 4th May, 1220, as proved by the fact that Robert, third Baron Berkeley of the Fitz Harding line, who died upon that day, described certain lands which he granted to St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, as "bounded by a wood belonging to Henry de Berkeley.[2]

At the beginning of the following year Henry must have served in person under the Royal banner at the capture of Biham Castle, since his name appears in the list of those in whose favour writs were issued on 19th February, 1221, authorising them to collect scutage from such of their tenants as had disobeyed the summons.[3]

On returning home he came to terms with his stepmother as to her claim for dower, for in the month of May a final concord between himself and Letuaria, widow of Roger de Berkeley, was confirmed by the judges at Westminster.[4]

[1] Trans. of the Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Society, Vol. viii., p. 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, Paper by Mr. J. H. Cooke, Vol. viii., p. 156.

[3] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 5th Hen. III.—"nomina ista prescripta sunt per dominum R. de Nevill . . . . "Henr̃ de Bercl̃."

Bigland, misconceiving the tenor of such writs, describes him as "one of the Collectors of the Scutage of Biham."

[4] Pedes Finium Octave S^cti Marc. (2nd May) 5th Hen. III. She remarried Henry de Escrupes, who, a few weeks after the above date, was fined 100s. for having taken to wife, without the King's licence, "Letu (not Letitia as Mr. Maitland has it) que fuit uxor Rogeri de Berket."

Next month he went to Gloucester, as in duty bound, to meet the Justices Itinerant at the first assize held there since Magna Charta.[1] Shortly after its commencement he entered into another final concord with Thomas de Hunteley, whereby, upon the latter's relinquishing twenty solidates of rent in Cobberley, he granted to him "the homage and service of Helyas Boivill and his heirs in respect to six virgates of land in Arlingham, together with ten solidates of rents payable by Hugh Smalrede and his heirs for a tenement in Codrington.[2] The motive for this bargain is not explained, but it was not improbably connected with some charge on the estates created by his father, who, in 1215, had been so hard pressed by the Jews that his younger brother Robert had to advance 200 marks towards payment of his debts,—taking security for repayment upon Cobberley, in which vill he at this very assize granted half a hide to Ernald de Cobberley.[3] Under such circumstances Thomas de Hunteley's rent-charge thereon may have been impaired, and a commutation conceded to him at the sacrifice of a further portion of Henry's diminishing inheritance!

Besides these private arrangements the name of Henry de Berkeley appears on the Assize Roll both as defendant in a civil action and security (plegius) on the criminal side. In the former he was accused of having "unjustly disseized" Lawrence of Bristol of his free tenement in Dodington, but on coming forward and denying the charge, the jurors found that he had not done so.[4] In the latter capacity he became responsible for payment of one mark by Theobald, a retainer of William Walerand's

[1] The judges opened the Eyre on the 21st June, and went on to Hereford on the 19th July. *Vide* Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester, 5th Henry III., edited by F. W. Maitland. London, 1884.

[2] Pedes Finium, Glouc., Octave St. Peter (5th July) 5th Hen. III. Helyas Boivill, probably his father, is named as a sub-feoffee in the Return of Roger de Berkeley (III) in 1166, Liber Niger. The transfer, as above, was an enduring one, for as late as 15th Edward I. John de Boyvill is recorded as doing homage to Walter de Huntleye for a tenement in Arlingham.—Placita de Juratis in Anno.

[3] *Vide* Rot. Litt. Claus., 16th John, as to debt to Jews.—Pedes Finium Glouc., 5th Henry III. as to final concord.

[4] "Et Henricus venit et negat . . . et Juratores dicunt quod predictus Henricus non disseisiavit eum . . . . et Laurencius in misericordia."—Assize Roll, fol. 1, in dorso.

(Henry's uncle-in-law, and feoffee in Siston) who had brought an accusation which he failed to sustain;[1] and of half-a-mark for Robert Bertram, apparently a servant of his own, who was in a similar position.[2] Henry is likewise mentioned as one of the recognizances "de damno et veniendo" of Ralph Mortimer and Robert Picot in a suit respecting the Vill of Lanthony, fol. 1, and for the prosecution of a suit by Edith, widow of Roger le Venur, as to a tenement in Arlingham," fol. 2.[3]

It seems natural to suppose that he was in good health when accepted as surety in these cases, yet he must have been cut off a few weeks later in the very flower of his youth,—for on the 24th September, 1221, at a council held in the Tower of London, custody of the land and heirs of Henry de Berkeley, deceased, was granted to Engelard de Cigony.[4] The presumption certainly is that he had met with a violent death in the interim, not improbably in the campaign which had occurred against the Welsh under Llewellyn ap Jorwult, to which, as the young King insisted on taking the field in person, he was sure, as holding by military tenure, to have been summoned.[5]

The selection of such a guardian as Engelard was of evil omen for the widow and her infant children. He had been one of the chief instruments of King John's tyranny, and was so much hated by the Barons that he was named in Magna Charta as one of the Foreign mercenaries who were to be removed from Office and

[1] Hundred de *Puckelchurch*. Theobaldus homo Wiłłi Wallerändi appellavit Hugonem Gule de pace Đni Regis * * * * et Jurati non male credunt Hugonem et quietus est. Et Theobaldus finem fecit per 1 marc. per plegium Henrici de Berkele.—Maitland's Pleas of the Crown, p. 66.

[2] Placita Coronæ Com. Glouc. 5th Hen. III.

[3] Hundredum de *Berkeley* Robertus Bertram appellavit Robert fil. Guidonis de pace Regis. Et Jurat. non male credunt Rob. fil. Guid. et est quietus Roberī Bertram finem fecit per dimid. marc. per pleg. Henrici de Berkele. Maitland, p. 68.

[4] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 5th Henry III.

[5] Mat. Paris Chron. Majora Vol. III. states that the King—"cum magnatibus suis"—relieved Builth Castle where Reginald de Braose was besieged, on the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin (7th Sept.)

expelled the Kingdom.[1] Instead of this he had been made in the last year of that monarch's reign Governor of Windsor Castle,[2] which had been converted into a state prison. His gallant defence of that fortress against the Dauphin's forces was doubtless the reason which induced the Regent Pembroke to tolerate his remaining in England, but it was not until Hubert de Burgh succeeded to that post in 1219,[3] that he regained sufficient influence to be entrusted with valuable appointments. However unscrupulous he may have been in pursuing his designs, there can be no question indeed that he was both a brave soldier and a skilful administrator.

As Custos of the Honour of Dursley, we find him promptly performing in person the military service due from it abroad,[4] and adopting legal proceedings at home to protect it from spoliation by William Walerand, who claimed a Knight's fee therein by gift from Robert de Berkeley.[5] It must have been difficult for him to fulfil the multifarious functions which devolved on him, even though aided by his sons, to one of whom, Oliver, the charge of

[1] "Nos amovebimus penitūs de ballivis—parentes Gerardi de Athyes quod de cetero nullam habeant ballivam in Anglia *Engelardum de Cygony*, Andream, Petrum, et Eyonem de Cancellis, Eyonem de Cygony, Galfridum de Martin et fratres ejus, Phillippum Marci et fratres ejus, et Galfridum nepotem ejus, et totam sequelam eorundum."—Claus. 50.

Et statim post pacis reformationem, amouebimus de Regno omnes alienigenas Milites, Balistarios, Servientes, Stipendiarios, qui venerunt cum equis et armis ad nocumentum regni.—Claus. 51. Select Charters, Stubbs, p. 302.

[2] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 16th John.

[3] They were old allies, Engelard having been guardian of the Scottish Princesses at the time when Hubert entrapped one of them into marriage.

[4] Scutage Roll, 6th Henry III. Among those who had writs "de scutagio habendo," as having served with the army of Poictou, was Engelardus de Cygony "qui fuit cum Rege, de feodis militum que Henricus de Berclay tenuit de Rege in capite, et sunt in custodia cum filio et hærede ipsius."

[5] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 8th Henry III. The Sheriff of Gloucestershire is ordered to give seisin to Engelard of the custody of the said fee, any impediment on the part of William Walerand being removed. Nevertheless the Walerands retained it fully a hundred years. Apparently the order was evaded by a quas sale, for in 14th Hen. III. restitution is ordered to Ralph Musard, of the land which did belong to Robert Berclay in Cubberlegh, if Ralph bought it of William Walerand.—Rot. Litt. Claus. sub anno.

Henry de Berkeley's lands and heirs was committed in 1225, during his temporary absence in Gascony.[1] Whether this substitution was connected with any matrimonial designs is not clear, but it is somewhat remarkable that in 1227, six years after her husband's death, Agnes de Berkeley, the widow, who was still of marriageable age, deemed it worth while to go to the expense of obtaining the King's mandate enjoining on the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, "that she was not to be vexed or molested so long as she did not marry without the leave of Engelard."[2] Probably she never remarried, for in a Return of Wardships, drawn up apparently at a later period, "the Lady of Dodington," as she was styled from her Dower House, is still set down as marriageable,[3] and it must have been from her that her son John, mentioned as a minor in the same document, inherited a Knight's fee in Draycote, Wilts, on coming of age. As that event did not occur until after 1240, the estates must have remained upwards of 18 years in the uncontrolled possession of Engelard de Cygony, and it is easy to conceive how severely they suffered during this protracted minority. Of the extent to which the interests of the guardian had become in the popular view identified with their custody, some idea may be formed from the fact of their being described by the collectors of aids for Gloucestershire as "the Honour of Engelard de Dursley.[4]

In that Return only three-and-a-half Fees are paid for, but it relates to the Hundred of Berkeley alone, and we know, from the one previously alluded to, that in Whitstan Hundred the land[5] of John, son of Henry de Berkeley, was worth £10 per annum

[1] Rot. Litt. Patent., 9th Henry III.

[2] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 11th Hen. III. Dn. Rex. ded. Engel de Cygony custod. terre et hered Henr. de Berkeley et maritagium ejusd. hered et Agnet. que fuit uxor predicti Henrici et mandatum est Vic. Glouc. ad eam occasionem quâ prdic. Agnet̄, &c., maritaverit, si tamen de licentiâ ipsius Engel hoc fecit eam in nullo modo vexet vel molestet.

[3] Testa de Nevill. Roll of Escheats and Wardships, p. 81.—Hundred de Haggem "Domina de Dudington que fuit uxor Henr̄ de Berkeley est maritanda: terra ejus valet viii libros."

[4] Testa de Nevill. Ralph Wylington et Wm. Puccot Collect. (1231-36) [p. 73] "De honore Ingelard de Dursely—de tribus feodis et dimid."

[5] *i.e.* Stanley St. Leonard's manor.

(independently of £5 given to Engelard himself by the King), and that in Agmead Hundred [1] Agnes had £8 per annum.

The collection of fiscal memoranda preserved in the exchequer, and published under the title of "Testa de Nevill," is not arranged in chronological order, and is obviously too incomplete to form a basis for very definite conclusions; but as it throws a good deal of light on the subject, I append extracts of all entries bearing on the Honours of Berkeley and of Dursley, with suggestions as to their approximate dates.[3] It will be seen that in settling as to the aid for marrying the King's sister, imposed in 1235, the collectors render account for the "seven and a half fees which were Roger de Berkeley's which Engelard de Eaton" (as he is there styled, doubtless from ocassional residence at that place as Governor of Windsor Castle) "has in custody with the heir. This is a fee in excess of the number stated to be held by Roger in the Honour of Durseley not long before his death, the one in Cobberley reclaimed from William Walerand being probably reckoned. Ostensibly, therefore, at any rate, John de Berkeley's inheritance *in capite*, suffered no diminution in extent whilst under the guardianship of Engelard de Cygony; and he had in addition, on coming of age, the two fees in the Honour of Gloucester, besides the nominal over-Lordship of Siston and his mother's fee of Draycote, Wilts.

[1] *i.e.* Dodington Manor.

[2] *Vide* extract annexed :—

Testa de Nevill Record Commission, vol. I., fol.

[p. 73]. Rad's de Wylington & Will's de Puccot Collectors of Aids (1231-36)—

"De honore de Berkel.—de quinque feod' Thomas de B. x marc."

"De honore Ingelard de Dursleg̃—de tribus feod' et dim. Ingelard de Dursleg̃ viij marc."

[p. 74] Same collectors. Aid for marrying the King's sister (1235)—

"De quinq̃ feod' Thom̃ de Berket x marc' per manus senescalli sui in grosso. De tribz feod' et dim' que tenet Ingelardus vij m̃r, scil3. in Dursleg."

[p. 75] Same collectors settlement at Exchequer on account of aforesaid aid, &c., &c., (1237)—

"Iidem reddūt compot' de x marc̃ de quin' feod' Thom̃ de Berket. In tho C et vij^{l} vi^{s} vj^{d}. Et habent de supplus C^{li} xiij^{s} ij^{d}, &c., &c. Iidem reddūt comp. de xv marc̃ de vij feod' et dim' que fuerunt *Rog' de Berkel* que Ingelardus de *Eaton* habet in custodia cum hærede. In tho nichil, etcetera."

John de Berkeley

had certainly attained his legal majority before the middle of 1241, for he was called on then to confirm several of the donations made by his ancestors to the Church, which had probably been disregarded by Engelard. On St. John Baptist's day (24th June) he quit-claimed to the Abbey of Kingswood two virgates of land and 3 acres of wood in Oselworth,[1] receiving, however, 100s. for so doing; and on the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula (1st Aug.) be acknowledged the right of the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol, to half a virgate and eight acres in Lorenge, as of the gift of Roger de Berkeley his grandfather (avi sui), being promised in return "all the blessings and honours which might come from Heaven on that Church."[2] He further undertook to warrant against all people the possession to the abbey of the advowson of the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen at Lorenge, which his said grandfather had given in pure alms.[3] In the following year he was in like manner called on by the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, in a suit with the Abbot of Kingswood, to warrant to the former the advowson of the church of Oselworth, on the plea that it had been given by his ancestors, and confirmed by his grandfather Roger.[4] Four years later a more unexpected declaration still was required of him, as we find him by his attorney in Westminster Hall recognising the Manor of Codrington (except one hide of land therein) to be the right of the Abbot and Church of

[p. 77] De Testa de Nevill (cir. 1213, ante 1220)—

"Isti tenent de Đno Rege in capite in Com. Glouc'"

"Feod *Rob'ti de Berkel* in honore de Berkel' vj milit'"

"Feod *Roy'i de Berkel* in honore Dursel' vj milit' et dimid."

[p. 81] Roll of Escheats and Wardships (between 1222 and 1234)—

"Hundred de Wytestan. Ingelard tenet apud Stanlegh C sol' terre per donum Regem." Joh̃ fil. Henr̃ de Berkelay est in custodia Ingel[1] "per đmn R, terra ejus valet x libras."

Lucia[1] que fuit ux̃ Robti de Berkeley est maritata Hug̃ de Gurney, terra ejus valet C libros.

1 She was married late in 1222 and died in 1234.

"Hundred de Haggem. Đna de Dudington que fuit ux̃ Henr̃ de Berkeley est maritanda, terra ejus valet viij libr'"

[1] Pedes Finium, Glouc. 25th Henry III. No. 240. [2] *Ibid.* No. 246. *Ibid.* No. 276. [4] Fosbrooke's Gloucestershire, Vol. I., 415.

Stanley, Wilts[1]. That manor had been given by his ancestors early in the previous century to Malmesbury Abbey, and transferred to its younger rival towards the close of Henry II.'s reign by Ralph Fitz Stephen the Treasurer,[2] without the express sanction of the Berkeley family, which seems now to have been applied for.

Whilst thus careful to fulfil his ecclesiastical obligations, John de Berkeley appears to have been incapacitated by the state of his health from taking an active part in the work of that stirring period. Early in the year 1243 respite from becoming a Knight[3] had been granted him by the King, and this was followed in the month of May by his being excused from taking up arms.[4] Presumably he had inherited an extremely delicate constitution from his parents, both of whom, as we have seen, died young, for in less than two years from the date of these ominous exemptions he was gathered to his fathers at the age of twenty-five, leaving the Honour of Dursley for a second time exposed to all the disadvantages of a long minority under the relentless exactions of the feudal system. The first intimation of his death is a writ dated 13th May, 1245, directing the Sheriff of Gloucestershire to assign reasonable dower to Sybil "who was wife of John de Berkeley" taking security that "as soon as she shall have brought forth and recovered her strength" she will come unto the King to do fealty.[5]

In the succeeding year the sheriff is ordered to deliver up her manor house[6] to her, as she has taken oath not to marry without the King's licence. This is followed by a grant to Richard de

[1] Pedes Finium, Glouc., 29th Henry III. No. 327.

[2] *Vide* Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. IV., p. 563.

[3] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 26th Henry III.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 29th Henry III. It appears from subsequent evidence that there was already a son of between 3 and 4 years of age at the time of his father's death.

[6] *Ibid.* 30th Henry III., "aula sua" rendered in Sharpe's Calendar of the Close Rolls—"her *Castle*," but the words meant, I take it, no more than the Manor House of Stanley St. Leonard's, which had apparently been assigned her for Dower. Dursley, as the "Caput Honoris" would never be left in the hands of the widow.

Clifford of the custody of John's lands and *heirs* [1] "together with whatever right the King may have to the marriage of Sybil if she should wish to be given in marriage," [2] the Sheriff of Gloucestershire being again enjoined *to be careful when giving sasine* to have regard to her dowry. Notwithstanding the marked consideration thus shewn on the part of the crown, the widow appears to have experienced considerable difficulty—judging from the proceedings before the Justices Itinerant at Gloucester in 1248,—in obtaining recognition of her claims. It may be that she was a woman of excitable temperament, since we find from the Pleas of the Crown for the Hundred of Whitstone (in which Stanley St. Leonard's was situated) that she had brought a charge of "robbery" (roberia) against Richard de Cromhal and other persons [3] named, which she was not prepared to follow up at this assize, and being thus "in misericordiâ" was obliged to get William de Berkeley and Hervey de Dodington to become sureties for the penalty incurred. On the civil side, too, she appears as bringing actions against both the Abbots of Gloucester [4] and of Kingswood [5] for her "thirds" from lands in Newyngton Baggepath and elsewhere in their occupation, evincing again, in the second of these suits, her impulsive disposition, by calling her son Henry, although he cannot have been more than seven years of age, to "warrant" [6] her title. The boy

[1] Rot. Litt. Patentium, 30th Henry III. where, strange to say, he is styled John de *Derseley*. Smyth, alluding to the practice which at that time prevailed of giving men second names "from such places where usually they dwelt," after citing among other instances, Maurice de Camme, *John de Durseley*, Robert de Beoley, Elias de Combe, and Roger de Newenton, quaintly adds "all of them the sonnes of Berkeleyes and descended from the loynes of Robert sonne of Hardyng."—*Lives of the Berkeleys*, Vol. I. p. 83.

[2] Et quic-quid juris Rex habeat in maritagio Sibillæ que fuit uxor predicti Johannis, si facere se maritari voluerit."

[3] Assize Roll, 32nd Henry III. No. 1. *A* Richard de Cromhal was one of the County Coroners, and it is not improbable that the affair arose from some dispute as to her right to her husband's effects, the jurors at once declaring Richard and his companions guiltless. William de Berkeley may have been a brother of her late husband, and the other pledge was most likely a connection of the family, as he seems to have been enfeoffed in their Manor of Dodington.

[4] *Ibid.* fol. 1. "Sibilla que fuit uxor Joñ de Berkele—ponit loco suo Joñ Waleñs— versus Abbaī Sĉi Petri, Glouc. et alios, de placitis dotis sue."

[5] *Ibid.*, fo. 22. "Sibilla de Berkeley petiť v. Abbaī de Kyngeswood terciam partem unius virgate terr̃ etc. in Baggepathe aī Newyngton et Madeleg."

is brought into court on the appointed day by Roger Folyet, on behalf of his guardian Sibilla de Clifford,[1] and his mother is allowed to speak with him, but the judges, although a precept from the King is produced enjoining them to do Sibilla de Berkeley full justice, do not seem satisfied with the evidence as to her claim, and adjourn the further hearing to the Michaelmas Assizes at Hereford, giving one Chaceport[2] charge till then of the boy, and binding over all parties—including the two abbots—to appear. Sibilla, who had been again supported by William de Berkeley, places in her stead for that occasion, Henry de Combe. The Assize Rolls, 32nd Henry III., for the County of Hereford, are not extant, so that the denouement cannot be traced, but the proceedings so far suffice to illustrate the cruelty of the feudal law, under which children of tender age were thus torn from their mothers. They serve too to obviate any doubt that the christian name of John de Berkeley's infant heir was *Henry*, as correctly stated by Smyth in the short abstract of the Dursley Pedigree, given in "the Lives" vol. I., p. 55) albeit in the more detailed account of that Line in his work on the Hundred of Berkeley (page 176) he contradicts himself by referring to the Patent Roll of 38th Henry III. for a grant of free warren to *William* de Berkeley of Durseley, who, he goes on to state, was groom of the bedchamber to the King, and stood high in his favour. A careful examination, however, of the authorities cited[3] shows, that the words "of Dursley" nowhere occur, and there

[1] Richard de Clifford was recently deceased. The jurors of Berkeley Hundred at this assize present—"quod Sibill que fuit ux. Ric. de Clifford est in donacione Regis, et est maritand. Et terra sua valet xii lib̄ adm̄." She had apparently secured a continuance of the wardship, since it is stated that Sibilla de Berkeley "vocat inde ad warrañ Henr. fit Joh̄s de Berkeley qui est infra ætatem in custodia *Sibille de Clifford.*"—Assize Roll, 32nd Hen. III. Gloucestershire.

[2] P. de Chacepore appears on the Close Rolls as an official of the exchequer. He was probably in attendance on the judges during their Iter. He afterwards became one of the chief clerks of the King himself.

[3] But for the kind assistance of Mr. Walford Selby, of the Record Office, I should have failed to verify Smyth's references, the Rolls cited by him, consisting of grants by the King whilst in Gascony, being "Rot. Vascon." classified at the present day as "Charter Rolls," and not even noticed in Sharpe's MSS. Calendar of the English Patent Rolls.

is on the other hand good ground for believing that these entries relate to William, fifth son of Thomas Lord Berkeley who certainly filled the abovenamed office at a later period.[1] Some, however, of Smyth's further references certainly pertain to another person of the name,[2] descended probably from the original line,[3] perhaps the William de Berkeley whom we have seen standing by Sibilla, widow of John of Dursley in 32nd Henry III[4]. At all events the heir to the honour at that date was Henry.

[1] On the Assize Roll of 53rd Henry III. Glouc., fo. 34, William de Berkeley, Richard de Berkeley and others, stand charged with having disseized the Master of the Hospital of Holy Trinity at Berkeley of a tenement in Eggeton "Et predictus Willielmus de Berkeley *Valettus predicti Regis* "venit et respondet." The jurors say that Maurice de Berkeley, the existing Chief Lord of the Fief, is unwilling to grant the said property in alms, and the judges discharge the accused "sine die." It is obvious that the William and Richard who thus intervened in supporting Maurice the Baron, were his younger brothers who bore these names.

[2] Who married, in 45th Henry III., Avicia, widow of Robert de Blakeford and lady in her own right of Bampton, Devon, and must have died in 1270, in which year her son, by the first husband, John de Blakeford, claimed seisin of that manor (Close Roll, 54th Henry III.) of which his stepfather had exchanged part, without his wife's consent, for lands in Dorsetshire (Inq. post mort. 56th Henry III. No. 21).

William the Baron's son, on the other hand, married Maude, dau. of Nigel de Kingscote, and was banished the realm in 1272, being succeeded by a son known as Maurice de Camme. (Smyth's Lives, vol. I., p. 120.)

[3] In the middle of the 13th century the only male descendants of Maurice, son of Robert Fitz Harding, by Alice de Berkeley, were, so far as recorded, Thomas de Berkeley the 4th Baron and his six sons, Robert, the 3rd Baron, having died childless, as had likewise Maurice his younger brother, whilst no mention is made by Smyth of William, the 4th brother, or Richard the 5th., as having left issue. There is strong presumption, therefore, that anybody who then bore the name of Berkeley, excepting the existing Baron and his sons, belonged to the original line.

In my former Paper I pointed out (Note 2, p. 20) that Smyth adduced no proof in the "Lives" that Maurice had a son named Richard. In his Hundred of Berkeley, however, since published by the Society, a Deed supposed to bear the latter's attestation is given (p.373), but the grammatical construction of the testing Clause is open to doubt. It runs: "Hiis Testibus—Đno Mauricio de Berkel Roberto filio ejus, et Ričo fratre *ejus*," which seems to indicate rather that this Richard was brother, and not son, of Maurice. If the latter had been meant it would have been easier to write: "Roberto et Ricardo filiis ejus." I cannot help thinking that Smyth must have misread Ničo for Ričo, and that the witness really was Nicholas the well-known younger son of Robert Fitz Harding.

[4] Smyth makes another blunder in his Hundred of Berkeley, p. 110, by stating that it was Roger de Berkeley *de Dursley*, who, in 33rd Henry III.,

HENRY DE BERKELEY (II)

I have found no record of his homage, but he must have come of age before the middle of 1262, since in the inquisition *post mortem* of Richard, Earl of Gloucester, who died in France on the 22nd July in that year, his name is specified as holding two fees in Dodington under him.[1] A final concord made in 1263 as to lands in Oselworth, whereby Sampson, Abbot of Kingswood, bound himself to do the service due to the lord of that fief, proves further that he was then in full possession of the Honour, for it bears an endorsement of his consent.[2]

Seldom has there existed a graver crisis in the History of England than that which was dawning at the moment Henry swore allegiance to the crown for the lands he held *in capite*! The Barons, indignant at the repudiation of the Provisions of Oxford, had at length taken up arms in earnest against the King, and though worsted in the first encounter, triumphed so completely at the battle of Lewes in the following year, that even their crushing defeat at Evesham in 1265 by no means disposed them to unqualified submission. That disaster had arisen mainly from the defection of Gilbert de Clare, the young Earl of Gloucester, who had at first, treading in his father's footsteps, taken a leading part on the Baronial side, and though in consequence of disputes with Simon de Montfort he afterwards left it, he still did his best to secure some constitutional results from the struggle.

As a feudatory of the Honour of Gloucester, Henry de Berkeley might have been tempted, like others of his lineage, to adopt the popular cause, but on the other hand, Robert Walrand,

gave a virgate of land in Bradley as a marriage portion to his daughter, whereas he is not so styled in the Fine (Pedes Finium, Glouc. Henry. III. No. 407), and probably was none other than the Roger de Newington, son of Philip de Berkeley, who had six years earlier made a grant to Kingswood Abbey (*Vide* History of Original Family of Berkeley, p. 24).

[1] Henr̃ de Berkeł ij feod̃ in Dodington in Comitatu Glouc. These fees were distinct (as shown by the Lib. Niger) from the *Manor* of Dodington which he held of the King.

[2] Pedes Finium Glouc. 47th Henry III., No. 607, endorsed, "Henricus de Berkeley de Dersely apponit assensum suum."

his cousin (and feoffee in Siston and Cobberley), was the King's right hand man, whilst Maurice (II) Lord Berkeley, under the shadow of whose castle-keep the young Lord of Dursley might be said to dwell, although suspected of sympathising with the rebel Barons, never openly joined them. As a result it may be concluded that Henry remained true to the Royal cause, for he incurred no forfeiture, nor is his name found in any of the long lists of those subsequently pardoned for participation in the rebellion. It is absent too from the lists of those who shortly after its close obtained protection to their property against civil process, whilst they accompanied Prince Edward to Palestine, a politic move, whereby many of those more adventurous spirits who had been in arms against the crown were got rid of for a time.[1] He would seem in fact, from such evidence as we possess, to have married and settled down on his estates at the close of the civil war. His eldest son was born in September, 1269: and at the assizes held at Easter of the same year in Gloucester,[2] "Henry de Berkeley" is twice mentioned as a juror. This might, however, be the younger son of Thomas Lord Berkeley so named, but there can be no question on the other hand, looking at the defendants in both cases, that it was Henry of Dursley who subsequently[3] "placed in his stead" William de Eggeton and Roger de Stokes, in pleas concerning land, against the Abbot of Kingswood, and Letuaria, widow of Thomas de Rochford.[4] This is the first symptom on his part of that love of litigation, which was so characteristic of the age. We know not how those suits terminated,

[1] I am by no means certain, however, that Henry did not become a crusader, for no notice of him between 1269 and 1272 occurs. The number of "Cruce-signati" referred to on the Patent Rolls bears after all but an insignificant proportion to the thousands of Knights who, we are told, flocked to Prince Edward's standard.

[2] *Vide* Assize Rolls, Gloucester, 53rd Henry III., the third and last series of that reign extant.

[3] *Ibid.*, "Henricus de Berkeley ponit loco suo W. de E. et Roger de S. versus Abbatem de Kingeswode de placita terre."

"Idem Henricus p. l. s. eosdem de eodem versus Letuariam que fuit uxor Thome de Rochford."

[4] The name of Letuaria is so rare that it suggests descent from the widow of the last Roger de Berkeley.

but a few years later he must have had quite as many on his hands as he could manage. In 1272 Henry de Woolavington was assigned to take the jury arraigned by Henry de Berkeley against the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, touching right of common pasture in Stanley [1]; and four years afterwards he had an assize against the Abbot of Stanley (Wilts) who also brought a cross action against him as to common pasture in Dodington.[2] So far back as 1265 William le Venur and his wife Johanna had sued him on the same account; while now in 1277 his rights in the same manor are still more seriously impugned by Gilbert de Clare (under whom he held one portion of it), whose steward, Pagan de Marshfield, went the length of distraining on his cattle on the plea that he owed service to the Earl. Henry replevined, and satisfied the court that he held the vill *in capite*,[3] but the claim, as we shall find, was revived ten years later in a modified shape by the same imperious noble. Not long afterwards Henry became involved in disputes with his cousins at Berkeley, of far greater consequence in so far as his social status was concerned. It is by no means clear that he was to blame for the rupture of the harmony which had for more than a century existed between the two houses. Even on Smyth's showing, Maurice (II) the then Baron, was of an exacting disposition, and impatient of the exercise of any authority save his own within the limits of the Hundred of Berkeley,[4] throughout every part of which,—and not merely over such manors as pertained to his Barony,—he claimed

[1] Forty-second Report on Public Records. Calendar Pat. Roll, 1st Ed. I.

[2] Rot. Litt. Pat., 4th Edward I. m. 30 in dorso—"Henry de Montford et Solomon de Roffs ten. ad fin. cap. inter Henr. de Berkeley et Abbat. de Stanley de cõa pastura in Dodington."

Ibid. m 33 in dorso. Iidem Justiciarii assig. ad cap. assis. noṽ disseis. inter Abbat. de Stanleye et Henr. de Berkeley de cõa pastura in Dodyngton.

[3] Placita de Banco, 5th Edward I. P. de M. in nomine et jure G. de C. Comitis Glouc. et Hertford distrinxit quatuor vaccas pro servicio faciendo . . . . ipsius Com. et Henricus de B. dicit quod tenet villam de Dodington, de Ðno Rege *in capite*. Et Paganus non potest se diracionare.—Adjudicata MSS. Index 1st to 14th Edward I.

[4] Berkeley is not spoken as a "Hundred" in Domesday. Mr. Pearson supposes (Anglia ecclesiastica) that its area was then included in that of Langelie; but we are told in the Grants to Robert Fitz Harding that it possessed in the reign of Henry I., certain liberties and free customs, and it had no doubt its separate courts for their regulation. The profits of these

feudal superiority. He had begun by doing his utmost to compel another of his cousins, Nicholas, son of Roger (descended from the second son of Robert Fitz Harding) to do suit and service in his court for the Manors of Hill and Nimpesfield, though held by crown charter;[1] and had subsequently distrained Anselm de Gurnay (also a descendant of Robert Fitz Harding) in his Manors of Beverston, Aylberton, and King's Weston, because he would not take his measures from *his* standard, but from the King's, of whom he held *in capite*.[2] For this distraint, as well as for other equally high-handed proceedings, the Grand Jury for the Hundred of Berkeley presented him before the Judges Itinerant at Gloucester in 1274,[3] the jurors in his other Hundreds making similar complaints against his exactions.

It would seem indeed as if the measures adopted by the King so soon as he was firmly seated on the throne, to recover the rights and privileges usurped by the Barons under the weak administration of his father, had the effect of evoking a spirit of resistance to feudal despotism on the one part, whilst it led on the other to the assertion of claims which would otherwise have remained dormant! Thus the "Hundred Rolls," which embody the results of preliminary enquiries instituted about this period as a basis for the *Statute of Quo Warranto*, must have revived many controversies.

In the Hundred of Berkeley, for example, the jury report, that Maurice de Berkeley and Henry de Berkeley, claim "Return of Writs, Assize of Bread and of Ale, right to erect Gallows, and to punish by the Cucking stool.[4] It may be presumed that each

courts appear to have remained vested in the crown, notwithstanding the very wide privileges conceded to Robert Fitz Harding, for his successors only claimed to hold the Hundred in Fee Farm at a rental of £20 per annum. Even this concession was apparently not obtained until the confirmation of the Barony to Maurice, Robert's heir, in 1172, as we find Roger de Berkeley, the dispossessed Baron, continuing to account to the exchequer for murder-fines so late as 7th Henry II. (1161).

[1] Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. I., p. 128. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[3] Rot. Hundredorum, 2nd Edw. I. (published by Record Commissioners).

[4] *Vide* Rot. Hundred, 4th Edward I. "Dicunt qd Mauricius de Berket et Henricus de Berket clamant returnam brevium, assisam panis et cervisiæ, furcas, et tumbrell."

sought to exercise independent jurisdiction to the fullest permissible degree within his own lordship, and as the extent of their respective possessions had been in dispute ever since the partition of Berkeley Hernesse,[1] it may easily be conceived that frequent clashing of authority had ensued. It was no doubt with a view to define the limits of their pretensions, and thus diminish the risk of such conflicts in the future, that about two years later, in 1278, this Lord Maurice " (to quote Smyth's words) out of a faithful care to leave his estates and Barony to his son and his posterity free from all manner of question, gave 300 marks to have a deed and a fine from Henry de Berkeley, Lord of Dursley, of grant and release of all his right in the Manor of Berkeley and Berkeley Hernesse, and in the Barony of Berkeley, and in the Manor of Wotton and the Market and Fair there, and in the Manor and Advowson of Slimbridge." [2]

It can scarcely be supposed that so vague and one-sided a renunciation was executed by Henry of his own free will, but whatever the pressure brought to bear on him, I find no confirmation of the statement that he was ordered to do so by the King, still less that the money went into the Royal treasury."[3] On the contrary, Maurice's agreement to give 300 marks to Henry himself is alluded to in an endorsement on the Close Rolls, wherein the former covenants to pay 50 marks—part of the said sum, to Sibilla de Berkeley, the latter's daughter, viz., 30 marks to procure her discharge from the effect of a vow which her father had made on the occasion of his marriage, that one of his daughters should become a nun,

[1] *Vide* Returns of Robert Fitz Harding and Roger de Berkeley in the Liber Niger.

[2] Smyth's Lives, Vol. I. p. 143. His marginal reference is " Finis, 6th Edw. I. in banco," which is his usual designation of a Final Concord. No such fine, however, is noted in the Index to the *Pedes Finium* of the County of Gloucester. As a copy seems to have existed in his days at Berkeley Castle, it may still turn up. I have searched the *De Banco Rolls* for the Hilary and Easter Terms of that year in vain for any allusion to the subject.

[3] Fosbrooke (Extracts Lives of the Berkeleys), under the heading " Conveyances compelled by the Crown," cites Smyth MSS. 156 " for the allegation that Maurice gave 300 marks *to the King* to have a fine from Henry de Berkeley of the release of his right in the Barony, but he must have had a different MSS. from that edited by Sir John Maclean, from folio 170 of which the quotation in the text is copied.

and 20 marks towards her wedding portion.[1] Another endorsement sets forth that Maurice has bound himself further to pay Henry 78 marks at Whitsuntide, and 30 marks on All Saints' day next ensuing.[2] Rather more than half the total amount is thus accounted for, but there is nothing to show when or to whom the residue was paid. The compromise, however, appears so far to have been carried out in an amicable spirit, and a restoration of harmony might certainly have been anticipated. Unfortunately Maurice died three years afterwards in 1281, and the quarrel broke out more violently than ever with his son Thomas, who succeeded him in the Barony. It is surprising indeed to find, after the steps that had been taken to enfranchise Slimbridge, the jurors at the inquisition then taken declaring that Maurice had held that manor from Henry de Berkeley "by what service they knew not,"[3] and to learn on the other hand that so little had been settled by the "Final Concord" that the Lord Thomas proceeded at once to urge his right "to certain liberties within the Manor of Dursley in his Hundred of Berkeley."[4] Henry contrived to resist the latter claim for the space of four years, but when the question at length came to trial in 1285, before the Justices Itinerant at Gloucester in virtue of a writ of *Quo Warranto*, which he is charged with having instigated the crown to issue,[5] the decision

[1] Rot. Litt. Claus., 6th Edw. I. Omnibus, etc, Sciatis me teneri Sibillæ filiæ Đni H. de B. in L marc̃ Sterl. . . . . ad, se inde maritandam, vidt xxx marc̃ p quâdam convencione relaxanda in die maritag̃ p̃dcti Henr. rat. de una fil. ipsius Henr. ponenda in religione . . . . . et xx marcas de quabus *finem trecentorum marcarum quam feci cum predict. Henr.* Solvend, &., &c., &c.

[2] *Ibid.*, 6th Edward I., Maur. de Berkeł recogn. se debere Henr. de Berkeł, &c., &c., &c.

[3] Inquis. post mortem, 9th Edward I. Idem Maur. tenuit de Henr. de Berkeley Manerium de Slimbrugge, q^d valet per añ xx libr. "sed per quod servicium ignorant."

[4] Smyth's Lives, Vol. I., p. 191.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 191, "Rec̃ in recept thesaur̃ Scacc̃ 9 et 13 Edw. I." He says the trial took place before Solomon Roffs and his associates. The only Assize Rolls for Gloucestershire from 7 to 15th Edward I., now existing, are those of Robert Fulton and Giles de Berkeley, assigned to take Assizes and Juries in the Western Counties arraigned before *Solomon de Rochester* and Thomas de Sodington (Rot. Pat. 7th Edw. I. m 24 in dorso). The Assize of *Quo Warranto* for *Wilts* was held in 9th Edw. I. before *Solomon de Roffs* at Wilton.

was adverse, the jury finding "that the ancestors of this Lord Thomas in the time of Henry II., used, if any thieves were taken either in the court or in the town of Dursley, to bring them to the Castle of Berkeley, and have justice executed on them there.

Such an arrangement had, perhaps, been acquiesced in originally by the Lords of Dursley [1] for the sake of its convenience, but it none the less derogated from their supreme judicial authority, and although there is no evidence that further advantage was then taken of the verdict, it was doubtless on the strength of it that the attempt was made half-a-century later to establish the complete subordination of that manor to the jurisdiction of the Court Leet of Berkeley.

It was, it may be presumed, in consequence of these prior legal proceedings, that when in 1287, two years later, a special session was held at Gloucester, under the provisions of the *Statute of Quo Warranto*, the name of Henry de Berkeley does not appear in the schedule of those whose claims were challenged on the part of the crown. Thomas Lord Berkeley, in defending his own rights, is careful, however, to specify the Townships of Dursley and Newington among those in which he does *not* claim Free Warren, "though they be in his Hundred of Berkeley."

Why Henry's manors in other Hundreds are not mentioned in the Quo Warranto Proceedings of that date, is not clear. Atkyns asserts that his right to privileges in Stanley St. Leonards was allowed in a Writ of Quo Warranto in 15th Ed. I., but I find no trace of such a document. The Manor of Cobberly may perhaps have been regarded simply as an appendage of that of Siston, which was now held from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and in which it would appear, from the inquisition on the death of his cousin, Robert Walrand, a few years earlier, Henry de Berkeley

[1] No protest seems to have been entered by Henry de Berkeley (1) in 1221 against the arrest and committal to Berkeley Castle of one of his servants by his cousin Robert.—Assize Roll 5th Henry III. No. 307 Maitland's Pleas of the Crown.

[2] Et præter hæc in hundredo suo de Berkele Villæ subscriptæ in quabus non clamat warrennam—Scil Durslee, Newinton, &c., &c. –Quo Warranto Rolls of Glouc., 15th Edw. I.

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retained no beneficial interest whatever.[1] As regards his remaining Manor of Dodington, the omission possibly arose from the dispute already referred to with the Earl of Gloucester concerning its tenure, which was revived at these very assizes. The Record, as set forth at considerable length on the Roll of Civil Causes,[2] supplies interesting information, though it would certainly be difficult to gather from it the points relied on by either party to prove his case, did we not possess other evidence as to the facts. The action is brought on this occasion against William, son of Henry de Berkeley, and Margery his wife, as tenants for life of this manor, which had doubtless been settled on them at their marriage, the contention being that, with the exception of a single carucate of land, they ought to hold it of the Earl by homage and service, as promised by Henry himself in the reign of the late King.

[1] Inq. post mortem Roberti Walraund, 1st Ed. I. (1272) "Jurat dicunt quod tenuit Manerium de Syston de Đno Henrico de Berkele Đno de Derseleye per servicium feodi unius militis . . . . . Egidius de Berkele tenet manerium de Cobberleye per feodum unius militis p summa xxviij lib. v. sol. ij^{d} et una libra piperis."

[2] Placita de Juratis et Assisis coram Willimo Saham, Glouc. 15th Ed. I. memb. 19.

[3] It is strange that the evidence of "Domesday" and of the "Liber Niger" was not cited! The former shows that there were *two* manors in Dodington, the larger of 3¼ hides held by Roger de Berkeley *in capite*; the smaller, of 1¼, by Roger, under the Bishop of Coutances. On the forfeiture of that Prelate the overlordship of this second manor passed to the Honour of Gloucester. Roger's grandson in 1166 stated that he held 3½ hides in Dodington of the King: but was also returned by William, Earl of Gloucester, as holding two Knights' fees of his Honour, which can only have been at Dodington.

It must have been for these latter that Roger's descendant, Henry (II) had done homage, as alleged, to Gilbert de Clare, but there is no ground for supposing that his Crown Manor,—however it may have been reduced in extent by alienations, had merged therein. Nevertheless this point remained in dispute for upwards of a century longer, and seems ultimately to have been decided against the Crown. Henry's grandson, John de Berkeley (II) in 10th Edward II., and again in 5th Edward III. by special precept, levied Fines of Dodington in the King's Courts, and on the death of himself and his wife Hawise in 23rd Edward III., it was one of the manors which the King's Escheator was ordered to deliver up to their son and heir Nicholas (Abbr. Rot. Orig. Vol. II. p. 200). Yet in an Inquisition "ad quod damnum" in 19th Edward III., a local jury had gone out of its way to

The judges met on the Thursday after the Octave of St. John Baptist's day,[1] which must have been early in July, but their judgment is not then entered on the Roll, and it may have been further delayed in consequence of the death of Henry de Berkeley, which occurred about this time, his writ of "diem clausit extremum" bearing date at Westminster on the 15th of that month.[2] He had, apparently, been ill when the Assizes were opened at Gloucester on the Monday after Easter Monday, for his name occurs among those of Absentee Landowners reported by the jurors both of Berkeley and Whitstan Hundreds,[3] and since he was not fined as most of them were, he must have offered a valid excuse to the judges. Moreover he did not attend in court later on to support the writ of *novel disseisin* he had taken out against Thomas Lord Berkeley and others concerning land in Camme;[4] and although in

declare that John de Berkeley held Dodington from *the Earl of Gloucester* by the service of one Knight's fee," and all doubt as to what this referred to is set at rest by the return to a special enquiry before Simon Basset and John Tracy (the judges assigned in 25th Edw. III to make it in consequence of a petition to the King in parliament from the above Nicholas de Berkeley) the jury finding that the manor in question was held—not of the King but of the late Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare (II) "to whose ancestors it had always belonged from time beyond memory": that Nicholas, son and heir of Hawise de Berkeley, now holds it from Ralph Earl of Stafford (representative of Gilbert's sister) by homage and payment of 100s. as Relief: and (as if to clench the matter) that the aforesaid Nicholas *holds no other land or tenement at Dodington*, except the said Manor"—(Inq. p.m. 25th Edward III. No. 60).

Despite these positive averments, when Nicholas settled his estates a quarter of a century later, another Gloucestershire jury declared "that he held the Manor of Dodington of the King by Military Service" (Inq. ad quod damnum, 1st Rich. II. No. 113) a statement repeated on his death five years afterwards, with the addition that he had held of no one else but the King (Inq. 6th Ric. II. No. 9.) Nor does the contradiction cease here, for his sister and heir, Matilda Cantelupe is described on her death as having held the same manor under the Earl of Stafford, "as of his Manor of Thornbury" (Inq. p.m. 4th Henry IV.) her name remaining in connection with it long subsequently (Inq. p.m. 38th & 39th Henry VI.)

[1] Dies datus eis de audiendo jus apud Bristoll die Jovis proxo post Oct. Scti Joh' Bapt. [2] Inq. p. m. 15th Edw. I. No. 18.

[3] Assize Roll, Glouc., 15th Ed. I. m. 26. Hundred de Whystan p defaltâ "Et dicunt quod Willis de Valencia, Humfridus de Bohun comes de Hereford et Essex, Johes de Bohun, *Henricus de Berkeley*, &c., &c., non venerunt primo die Placitor. Ita sunt in misericordia."

[4] Placita de Juratis et Assisis, Glouc. 15th Edw. I. m. 12.

the action brought by the Earl of Gloucester he is spoken of as coming forward to warrant the title of Dodington, the words used[1] imply that he appeared by his attorneys—, probably the Richard de Hilbeswood and Richard le Freeman who are named as his "Essoniators"[2] a little further on.

Though he had had possession of the Estates for nearly a quarter of a century, Henry was little over five-and-forty when he died. The fortunes of the House had not prospered during his tenure, but this may have been due rather to mischance than to extravagance on his part. The only recorded alienations of demesne made by him are insignificant. In 1285 he entered into a Final Concord with Stephen de Acton respecting the succession to a messuage and a virgate of land in Cam (then in the occupation of Peter de le Reye and Anna his wife) to be holden as $\frac{1}{20}$ of a Knight's fee of him and his heirs at Dursley[3]: and at some period not stated, he gave 8 acres of meadow in the last-named manor to Ralph de Camme and Henry his son for their joint lives.[4] Whether he created other encumbrances is uncertain, but besides the 300 marks received for the surrender of his privileges in the Barony of Berkeley, he had previously sold his rights as overlord of the Manor of Oselworth to the Abbot of Kingswood for 80 marks,[5] no inconsiderable sum in those days. Probably, however, it was chiefly owing to the depreciation caused by the Civil War, and to the heavy expenses which he had to incur for the defence of his rights against powerful assailants, that the Estates, judging from Escheators' Inquisitions and other sources of information, had diminished both in extent and value, so that at the very epoch

[1] *Ibid.* m. 19 "venit per suos."

[2] *Ibid.* m. 46 in dorso. "Henricus de Berkeley ponit loco suo Ric. de Hilbeswood et Ric. le Freeman—in quoscunque de quibuscunque." "Will' fit Henr de Berkeley, p. l. s. Walter de Couley et Ric' le Freeman versus Gilbert com. Glouc. et Hertford de placit. tenement."

[3] Pedes Finium, Glouc., 13th Edw. I. No. 66. A Sir Stephen Acton was Knight of the Shire in 12th Edw. I.

[4] Rot. Fin. 16th Edw. I. m. 11. See also Calendarium Genealogicum, Vol. I. p. 387.

[5] Smyth's Hundred of Berkeley, page 309. "Henricus de Berkeley de Dursley recepit 80 marc. as de Dno Abbate et Con. de Kingswood pro confirmatione Manerii de Ozelworth, 1272."

when political institutions were crystalizing into their present form, their owner had sunk almost to the rank of a County Knight. The "Barony" of Dursley is still indeed officially spoken of,[1] but Henry's interest in it had dwindled down to four somewhat heavily burdened manors, representing less than the same number of Knights' fees. Three of these, Dursley, Newington, and Stanley St. Leonard's, were on his death taken into the hands of the King's escheator south of Trent,[2] the "Extents," or valuations on oath by local juries, supplying important particulars, especially as to the first,[3] where there still remained in demesne 140 acres of arable, worth 5d. per acre, out of the hide returned in the Liber Niger. The chief value of the property consisted in the rents paid quarterly by the freemen and burgesses of the town (£3 17) and from two half virgates and one quarter virgate which paid an aid at the Feasts of St. Nicholas, St. Michael, and St. Augustine. The most noticeable fact disclosed is, however, that there was then no seignorial residence on the manor, the "Site of the Mansion with the produce of the garden and herbage being set down as worth 13s. 4d. per annum!"[4] Whether it had been destroyed by accident or pulled down by design we know not, but I fancy that the moated castle referred to by Leland[5] must have

[1] Manerium de Stanley Sči Leonardi quod pertinet *ad Baroniam de Dursley* in eodem comitatu. Inq. p. m. 15th Edw. I. No. 18, second numbers.

[2] Rot. Fin. 15th Edward I. "mandatum est H. de Bray Escaetori citra Trentam, quod omnes terras et tenementa de quibus Henricus de Berkeley saisitus fuit die quo obiit, sine dilacione capientur in manū Regis Salvâ custodiâ heř."

[3] Inq. p. m. 15th Edw. I. ut supra. Extend. manerii de Dersele, &c., &c.

[4] Et dicunt quod situs mansionis, cum fructu gardinii et herbagii valent 13s 4d, et columbarium 3s, et sunt in dominico cxl acras terre arabilis vat p acr. vd, &c. Et ibidem de redd liberorum et burgensium ad iiij terminas lxxvijs. et sunt ibi ij dimid. virg. et quarta pars virgate terre dantes ad auxilium, &c. Extend. Man. de Dersele ut supra.

[5] (Itin. Vol. VII.) This later castle had itself fallen to decay and been removed before the date of his visit (about 1540), for he says "that it was clean taken down," meaning that the Tuff Stone, of which it was built, had been carried off by the then proprietor, Edmund Wykes, to erect a manor house at Dodington. Some ruins, however, were visible in Rudder's time (1779) in an orchard a quarter-of-a mile north-west of the town, and the adjacent meadows are still known as the Castle Fields.—*Vide* Lewis Topographical Dictionary—article "Dursley."

been of later erection, and Edwardian style. The aggregate value of the three manors in question was returned as only £27 13s. 2d. per annum, one-third of which was due to Joan, Henry's widow, as "reasonable dower."

In consideration of this, Stanley St. Leonard's was assigned to her, subject to the annual payment into the exchequer of £1 19 7¼, by which sum its valuation was in excess of her claim.[1]

With this arrangement she was not satisfied, in consequence, apparently, of the value of the fourth manor, Dodington, having been omitted from the calculation, owing, it may be presumed, to its having been settled by Henry in his lifetime on his eldest son William and his bride. Joan accordingly brought an action in the Court of King's Bench,—not merely against the heir, his brother John, and his three sisters, Margaret, Agnes and Alice,—but against some twenty other individuals having an interest in the property.[2] An abstract of the names and holdings of these persons is appended,[3] but the Record, unluckily, does not distinguish between Donees and Feofees, nor show when or by whom

[1] Rot. Fin. 15th Edw. I. Rex Henr̃ de Bray Escaetori suo citra Trentam Saluten. Sciatis qd, &c., &c., assignavimus Johanne que fuit uxor Henr̃ de Berkeley, &c., &c., Manerium de Stanley quod extenditur ad £11 4s 1½d. habend in dote ipsius Joñe Ita tunc quod eadem Johanna solvetur nobis annuatim ad scaccar̃ nostr̃ £1 19s. 7¼d. quo excedunt dotem predictam per extentum predictum.

[2] De Banco Roll, 16th Edw. I. Hilary Term—Rot. 42.

[3] Names of Parties sued by Johanna de Berkeley in 1287.

Name.	*Nature of Holding.*	*Manors.*
William de Bernewood...	...a messuage and 12 acres... ...	..in Dursley
William de B. & Alice his wife	4 acres meadow	do.
	1 ,, ,, ...	do.
Milo de Langetot under W. de B.	2 ,, ,, ...	do.
Richard le Palmer...	a messuage & half a virgate... ...	do.
Thomas Herne	4 acres	do.
Margaret de Berkeley	12s. rent charge ...	
Agnes de Berkeley...	12s. ,, ...	do.
Alice de Berkeley	8s. ,, ...	
John, son of H. de Berkeley	water mill, with appurtenances	do.
Ralph and Henry de Camme	... ... 12 acres	do.
Galf. le Petyt	a messuage & half a virg.	
	1 acre of wood	do.
Nicholas de Kyngeston... ...	a messuage & half a virgate... ...	do.

the charge was created. In the case of Ralph de Camme, we happen to know that it was recent, whilst in that of the Prior of Bradenstoke we may be pretty sure that it had existed for a century,[1] and it is difficult to understand how the widow could have any claim for dower on lands alienated prior to her marriage, unless indeed they were liable to payments which formed part of the general revenue of the estate. The question, in this instance, however, was not raised, the defendants being content to call on William de Berkeley, as heir, to warrant their titles, which the Court ruled he was bound to do. Joan appears indeed to have been entirely successful in her suit against her son,[2] and we learn from the Fine Roll, of five years later,[3] that the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, Geoffrey de Sandiacre, was at once directed to assign to her lands of the annual value of £10 15s. 6¾d (in lieu of £9 4s. 5d. as before) and that he put her in possession of the Manor of

making a total sub-let in this manor, of 1½ virgates + 32 acres = 92 acres, with four messuages, besides the water mill and 32s. rent charge.

William de Berkeley and Margery his wife . . . . the Manor of Dodington, except 5¾ virgates and 6 acres of meadow there, and the Advowson of the Church.

The Prior of Bradenstoke	1 virgate	in Dodington
Master Richard de Cholewick ..	6 acres meadow	,,
Richard Craunt, and Isabella his wife	a messuage & 1 virgate	,,
Agnes de Lilleye	a messuage & ½ a virgate	,,
Robert Wynter	a messuage & ¼ of a virg.	,,
Adam de Wyke	a messuage & ¼ of a virg.	,,
Jordan Fitz Peter and Agnes his wife	a messuage & 2¼ virg.	,,

The 5¾ virgates + 6 acres, in all 236 acres, sublet, and deducted from the claim of the Lord of the Manor, are made up by the holdings of these 7 tenants. Five messuages were held therewith.

Henry de Frampton	6 acres ...	in Stanley St. Leonard's	
Nicholas de Mansell	5 acres meadow	,,	,,
Petronilla, widow of John le Marescal	¼ of a virgate	,,	,,
Alice, widow of John le Clerk, of Stanley	¾ of a virgate and a messuage	,,	,,

This makes only 1 virgate + 11 acres say 51 acres sublet and 1 messuage occupied—but the holding of the Priory is omitted.

John de Elkynton a messuage and ½ a virgate in Camme and la Planche.

I believe this to be John de Acton de Elkynton.

[1] *Vide* Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. VI., p. 239.—"ex Dono Rogerii de Berkele quandam croftam quæ vocatur Hanley in Dodintone."

[2] He is nowhere so styled, and it might be inferred from her conduct that she was his stepmother.

[3] Rot. Fin., 21st Edward I. memb. 2 p Johannâ que fuit uxor Henrici de Berkeley.

Newington, with rent-charges on Dursley, and on Stanley St. Leonard's, sufficient to make up the amount.[1]

The De Banco Roll further shews that Henry de Berkeley left to his younger son, John, the water-mill at Durseley, a valuable enough property no doubt, with its feudal rights;—and to each of his daughters[2] a rent-charge of 12s. per annum on that manor, which contrasts with the dower of 20 marks which he destined for his eldest daughter Sibill (*vide* page 242), who had probably pre-deceased him.

William de Berkeley.

Although married before his father's death, the inquisition taken on the latter event describes him as under 18 years of age, and shows him to have been born on Michaelmas day, 1269.[3]

His marriage had doubtless been hurried on by Henry when he felt his end approaching, in the hope of averting—Wardship;—and it looks at first as if that object had been at least partially attained, since the custody of the heir was excepted in the King's Writ to the Escheator (*n.* 2 p. 248), whilst the manor settled on him and his wife was not seized by that functionary with the others. In the proceedings of 1287, however, it is most distinctly set forth, that his person[4] was then in the charge of Richard de la Ryvere, and his lands (amongst which those of Dodington are enumerated),[5] in the hands of the King. He is allowed, nevertheless, with apparent inconsistency, to come into Court to warrant the rights of the feoffees of the estate, and to signify concurrence in the augmented dower sued for.

[1] Newington is valued in February, 1288, more than a third higher than in July, 1287! I cannot follow the figures.

[2] The Roll gives 8s. in the case of the youngest, but I fancy there is an accidental transposition of figures, as in the next line Ralph de Camme is said to hold *twelve* acres, whereas he only had *eight*.

[3] Willielmus filius et hæres dicti Henrici, erit ad festum Sĉti Michaelis anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto deciñ ætatis octodecem annorum. Inq. p.m. ut supra.

[4] "predictus Will' fil. et hær. Henrici de Berkeley—cujus corpus est in custodiâ Ric. de la Ryvere, et terre in custodiâ Ðni Regis."—De Banco Roll, 16th Edw. I., Hillary Rot. 42.

[5] Johanna postmodum petivisset rationabilem dotem suam ipsi contingentem de lib' ten. quod fuit p̄dcti Henrici quondam viri sui in Dursleye Neweton Pagpath, et *Dodington* . . . . in manu tunc existentibus ratione minoris ætatis heredis ipsius Henrici in custodia Regis existentis."—Rot. Fin. 21st Edw. I. memb. 2.

How long he remained in a state of tutelage is uncertain, but he did not get full possession of the Honour for several months after he had come of age, the King not having taken his homage till 8th February, 1291,[1] at Eynsham. The only notices I have met with of his brief career are in the Writs of Military Service.[2] The series being incomplete, it is uncertain whether he accompanied King Edward on his first invasion of Scotland in 1296, and crossed swords with his Scottish kinsmen at Dunbar—;[3] but on the 30th March, 1298, he was ordered, by writ tested at Westminster, to be at York on the 25th May, to serve in person against the Scots, and obeyed the summons. On the 24th January, 1300, his name appears on the list of those in the County of Gloucester having lands worth £40 a year, and he is in consequence again summoned to perform Knight service, by writ tested at Northampton on 12th March, directing him to be at Berwick-on-Tweed by the 24th June following. On this expedition he never proceeded, for the strange fatality which pursued the Dursley line overtook him, and he died before the 30th April in that year, as we learn from an entry on the Fine Rolls,[4] when, only a few

[1] p homagio capto.—Rex cepit homagium Witti de Berkeley fil. et heredis Henrici de Berkeley defuncti de omnibus terris et ten. que idem Henr̃ pater suus tenuit de R. in capite die quo obiit, et terras illas et tenementa reddidit. Et mandatum est Malculimo de Harle Escaet. citra Trentam quod eidem Witto de Berkeley in omnibus r̃is et ten. predictis de quibus idem Henr̃ pater suus fuit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo, in ballivâ suâ, die quo obiit, et que occasione mortis ejusdem capte fuerunt in manū Regis, plenam seisinam habere faciet—salvo jure cujus lib̃et. Teste ut supra (Eynsham, 8th Feby.) Rot. Litt. Clausarum, 19th Edw. I. memb. 9.

[2] Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Service *temp.* Edw. I. et Edw. II. published by the Record Commission and edited by Sir Francis Palgrave, 4 vols, 4to.

[3] Sir Walter de Berkeley, one of the prisoners taken at that battle, was confined in the Castle of Berkhampstead, until he made submission at Winchester, and was allowed to serve the King in Flanders. Sir Hugh de Berkeley was deprived of a rent-charge in the Manor of Camme, as an adherent of John Balliol.—Documents illustrative of History of Scotland, 1286-1306.

[4] Rot. Fin. 28th Edw. I. memb. 10. Quia Will. de Berkeley qui de Rege tenuit in capite diem clausit extremum ut accepimus, mandatum est Walt̃o de Gloucester Escaet. Regis *ultra*[1] Trentam, quod omnes terras et ten. de quibus predictus Witt̃s fuit seisitus die quo obiit capiet in manū Regis—Salvâ dote, &c.—Teste Rege apud Stamford xxx die aprilis.

1 A curious change of phraseology to suit the locality

months over 30 years of age. Although it ends by the usual reference to dower, it is hard to suppose that Margery long survived her husband, since in a Subsidy Roll for the County of Gloucester dated in the same year, we find John de la Ryvere[1] returned as holding Dodington as half a Knight's fee "of the inheritance of John de Berkeley, who is in the King's hands, nothing being said as to *her* interest in it. He is likewise set down as holding half a Knight's fee in Frampton Cotel of the inheritance of the same heir, which suggests an idea that she may have been of the Cotel Family, since William de Berkeley inherited no part of that manor from his father.[2]

In the same Roll John Botetourte is said to hold Dursley by the King's commission,[3] and we know from other sources that he had paid £60 for its custody till the heir should be of legal age.[4]

John de Berkeley (II),

the eldest of these heirs,[5] was in his 7th year when thus left to the

[1] These de la Ryveres were lords of the adjoining Parish of Tormarton, and took a leading part in Gloucestershire in the 13th and 14th centuries.

[2] Robert Walrand acquired two parts of this manor from the crown temp Hen. III., but according to the Hundred Rolls, Sibilla Cotele had lands there in 1276, and William de Berkeley's wife may have been her daughter.

[3] Joñes Botetourte tenet Manerium de Dersele de Commissione Dni Regis &c.—*Vide* "Nomina illorum qui tenent feoda militaria quæ tenentur de Dno Rege in Com. Glouc." de anno, r. r. Edw. xxviij. $1\frac{1}{1}^{3}$ Exchequer Subsidies, Record Office.

[4] Rex p finem 60 libr. quem Joñ de Botetourte fecit, concessit ei Man. de Dersele in Com. Glouc. qd fuit Wiłi de Berkeley defuncti, habendum usque ad legitimam ætatem heredum.—Rot. Orig., 29th Edw. I.

[5] Smyth, who goes hopelessly astray in this part of the Durseley Pedigree in his Lives of the Berkeleys, sets down this John as the second son of Henry (II) and younger *brother* of William, a mistake all the more unaccountable as he refers to the "Nomina Villarum" of 9th Edw. II., in which he is described as his *son*. Nor does he stop here, his words being, "which Henry (II) by Joan his wife had issue William, John, and, Henry; which William and John died without issue, leaving the said Henry (III) their brother and heir—which Henry (III) had issue John" (III) &c., &c.—"Lives," Vol. I. p. 55. In his "Hundred of Berkeley," however, written long afterwards, all these blunders are rectified by him without remark—John (II) appearing correctly as son of William de Berkeley, and father of Nicholas, no allusion being made to the supposititious Henry and John, who, as will be shewn hereafter, never really existed.

care of strangers. Excepting the casual mention of him in 1306, in connection with the patronage of certain churches,[1] as a ward of the King, I have found nothing concerning him till he did homage for his father's lands on the 15th August, 1314.[2] The day is noteworthy as it was that on which Edward II. opened a Parliament at York,[3] to which city be had retired, after a brief sojourn at Berwick-on-Tweed, on being routed at Bannockburn on Midsummer day. There is fair ground therefore for assuming that the young Lord of Dursley, though not quite of age, had been in that disastrous fight, probably as an esquire to his guardian, Sir John Botetourt, who was certainly present, and this may account for the exoneration granted to him ten months later by the King from liability for the scutages of 28th, 31st, and 34th Edw. I. for the Scottish war, on such lands as had belonged to his father in demesne.[4]

In the Returns made by the Sheriffs in 1316, in pursuance of writs issued under an Act of Parliament requiring an extra man-at-arms to be furnished by every township for the projected re-invasion of Scotland, John, son of William de Berkeley appears as Lord of the Borough of Durseley and of the Township of Newenton, and (without mention of his father's name) as Lord of the

[1] *Vide* Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections—sub Newington—for agreement between the Abbots of Kingswood and Gloucester, setting forth that the Churches of Newington, Oselworth, &c., are holden of John, son of William de Berkeley, of Durseley, then in the custody of the King, in pure alms. Dated 10th April, 35th Edw. I.

[2] Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, and Writs of Military Summons, Vol. IV. The date is given as 1315 (Part 2), but a reference to the document cited shows that though of the 13th April in that year, John's homage is expressly stated in it to have been performed in the previous August—"quindecimum diem Augusti proximum preteritum."—Rot. Marescal, 8th Edw. II.

[3] Chronicles of Reign of Edw. II.—Rolls Series, Vol. II. p. 275 and 276.

[4] Rex Collectoribus Scutagii de exercitibus Scotie de annis regni Đni Edw. quondam Regis Angliæ, vicesimo octavo, &c. . . . . Cum terræ Willielmi de Berkele defuncti captæ fuerunt, &c., ... de 30 die Aprilis anno quo obiit, usque ad xv diem Augusti proxime preteriti, quo die cepimus homagium Joħs fil. et heredis predicti Wiłłi—omnes terras et tenementa quc dictus Wiłłs pater suus tenuit in dominico de pater nostro die quo obiit,—usque ibi relaxctis, &c.—Rot, Marese, 8th Edw. II. Wyndesore 23rd April.

Township of Dodington.[1] In the case of Cobberley, however, his overlordship is not alluded to, that township being returned as if held direct from the crown—(doubtless in virtue of the statute of "Quia Emptores" recently passed)—by Thomas de Berkeley, son of Giles the sub-feofee under Robert Walrand in the previous reign;[2] whilst in that of Stanley St. Leonard's, the Lordship is said to be shared between William de Wauton, John de Gloucester, and Johanna de Berkeley.[3] The joint tenancy of the two former is puzzling in the extreme, in the absence of any clue to the way in which they had acquired an interest in this manor, which, at the time of Henry de Berkeley's death, thirty years previously, was held by him as the fourth of a Knight's fee pertaining to his Barony of Durseley, and at first assigned to Joan, his widow, for dower (p. 249); none of the sub-tenants (whose aggregate holdings amounted to but 50 acres),[4] bearing either of the surnames in question. Possibly William de Wauton [5] and John of Gloucester[6]

[1] Nomina Villarum, 9th Edw. II.—(Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Service, Vol. IV.) Com' Glouc.—Hundredum de Berkeley.

"Burgus de Berkeley—et Thomas de Berkeley est Dominus ejusdem Burgi."

"Burgus de Durseley—et Johes fil. Witti de Berkeley est Dominus ejusdem Burgi."

"Villa de Newenton—et Johes fil. Witti de Berkeley est Dominus ejusdem Villæ."

Hundredum de Grumboldash—"Villa de Dodinton—et Johannes de Berkeley est Dominus ejusdem Villæ."

[2] Hundredum de Respigete.—"Villa de Cobberley—et Thomas de Berkeley est Dominus ejusdem Villæ.

[3] Hundredum de Wiston.—"Villa de Stanley Sči Leonardi—et sunt Domini ejusdem Villæ, Williet de Wauton, Johannes de Gloucester, et Johanna de Berkeley."

[4] It is true that in the Hundred Rolls of 1276, his ancestors are said to have given the fourth of the fee to their Priory of Stanley St. Leonard's, "in free alms," but if feudal rights were thus transferred they would, as in the parallel case of the Manor of Codrington, have been recorded in the name of the Prior or of the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, as his superior, and not returned as vested in a couple of laymen.

[5] He held the Manor of Walton, Glouc., of William D' Eyvill, together with other lands. Represented the county in the Parliament of 1312, and took an active part in the insurrection against the Le Despensers.

[6] No doubt the one of this name, who was a trustee of John de Berkeley's settlement some years later, and presumably the Member for the Borough of Gloucester in 1328, and a Judge of some eminence at a later period.

may have married daughters of the next inheritor, William de Berkeley, but against this conjecture must be set the fact that in the Subsidy Roll of date subsequent to his death in 1300, Joan[1] de Berkeley is alone referred to as holding Stanley St. Leonard's as the fourth of a Knight's fee under John, William's infant son! On her death, which must have occurred in the course of nature not long after, as she had survived her husband so many years, it reverted to this grandson, minus, apparently, some deduction perhaps arising from the partial alienation which has led to this discussion.

In 1317 John de Berkeley must have married, since he conveyed his Manor of Dodington, by final concord, to Anselm de Gurnay, [2] who thereupon resettled it on the said John and Hawise,[3] his wife, and on their issue, whom failing on John's

[1] Johanna de Berkele tenet in Stanley Leonard quartam partem unius feodi militis, que est in custodia Dni Regis,—de herede Johs fil. Wilti de Berkele.—Subsidy Roll, Glouc., 28th Edw. I.

[2] Pedes Finium, Glouc. No. 152. The last Lord of Beverston of that name died in 1286, but a cousin who also bore it, is mentioned in 7th Ed. II. as having an interest in King's Weston.

[3] It has been supposed that this was Hawise de Tyneworth, heiress of Bratton, near Okehampton, Devon, who, in 7th Edw. II. married a John de Berkeley, who is furthermore assumed to be the one, on whose death, three years later, the Escheator this side Trent. John Walweyn, was ordered to take into the King's hands any lands he might have possessed (Rot. Orig., 10th Edward II. m. 3), and whose minor heir who bore, it is said, the name of Henry, was confided two years afterwards to the care of Alice de Leygrave, with the lands which John de Berkeley had held under the heir of Nicholas de Moeles, deceased (Rot. Orig. 12th Edward II. m. 5)—*Vide* note by Editor, Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. I. p. 55, and Genealogy of the Meriets, by B. Grenfield, 1884.

A careful examination, however, has convinced me that these suppositions are untenable. As regards the first, Hawise de Tyneworth's husband is not styled "of Durseley" either in the Final Concord (Pedes Fin. Divers Cos, 7th Edw. II. No. 84), or in the legal proceedings which occurred subsequently in consequence of her death without offspring prior to 19th Edw. II. (Plac. in Ban. Reg. Hil. 6th Edw. III.

As to the second and third, the entries will be found to relate to John de Berkeley, of *Arlingham*, a cadet of the Baronial line, who died seized of a fourth part of the Manors of Wondestre and Stache, Somersetshire, held under the Family of De Moeles (Inq. p. m., Vol. I. 14th Edw. II. No. 24).

His death occurred four years previous to the above Inquisition, as shewn by the accounts of John Walweyn between Michaelmas, 10th Ed. II. and Michaelmas, 11th Ed. II (Escheator's Accounts A 10, Division 2) wherein

right heirs. It may be as well here to remark that he seems, throughout his life, to have attached much importance to entailing every part of his estate on similar trusts, for fifteen years later he transferred his Manors of Dursley and Cold Newington with such portions of Stanley St. Leonard's as had come back to him, to William de Berkeley (probably his brother) and John de Gloucester, with this object: and again ten years later still, levied a fine in favour of Richard Walsh, his chaplain, on 100 acres of land in Dursley, Camme, and Slimbridge, held at a perpetual quit-rent of 2s. 6d. per annum from the Lord of Berkeley (to whom he alludes merely as "Capitalis dominus istius feodi") he debits himself with £6 9s. 11½d., received from certain tenements in these manors which were John de Berkeley's,—"a x die Julii in anno x°, *quo die idem Johannes obiit.*" John's heirs are returned in the Inquisition as his four daughters, no mention being made of his having left a son, nor of the guardianship of Alice de Leygrave, who was in all probability dead, as well as her charge. Admitting, however, that he did leave a son named Henry, of which evidence is wanting, it is clear that the entry under 8th Edw. III. in the Calendar of Inquisitions, *post mortem*.

"Henricus de Berkele
Dursele Manerium Glouc."

cannot refer to him, whilst a glance at the relative documents will show that this Henry was no other than John of Dursley's grandfather, who had been dead nearly half a century, and that the inquest is merely about the 8 acres of meadow in Dursley, which had been granted by him to Ralph and Henry de Camme for the term of their respective lives (*vide* p.247) of which, on the decease of the last-named, the Escheator had taken possession under the erroneous assumption that the land had been alienated without the King's licence. The story is told at some length in a sort of Writ of Certiorari issued by Edw. III. to John de Peyton, the Escheator, in which it is set forth that John de Berkeley, of Dursley, "tanquam consanguineus et hæres"[1] has petitioned for its restitution as parcel of his said manor, and an enquiry before good and legal men as to the facts is ordered. A jury, on 5th July following, find that Henry de Berkeley *had* the King's leave to make this grant—that the land which is worth 13/4 per annum would have reverted to him if he had survived the grantees, who are both dead, and that his nearest heir is John de Berkeley, who is of the age of 40 years.

On the Close Roll of the same year is an order that the said land and all revenue that has accrued from it, shall be given up to the said John (Rot. Litt. Claus., 8th Edw. III. m. 13)

1 I must own that I was at first staggered by the word "consanguineus" as applied to a grandson, although I knew it had a far wider application in mediæval latin than its derivative "Cousin." I have, however, since met with a precisely similar instance of its use, in another Inquisition of the family, that of Matilda Cantilupe in 4th Henry IV.,—where it is stated "quod Elizabeth uxor Ricardi Chedder est *Consanguinea* et hæres ejusdem Matilde, propinquior,—*videlicet, filia Roberti filii predicti Matilde.*"

as an additional settlement on his aforesaid wife, and on her decease to Nicholas, his son, and the heirs of his body, whom failing, to John, brother of the said Nicholas and the heirs of his body, whom failing, to the right heirs of the original donor for ever.[1] His object in these settlements may perchance have been to obviate all risk of the remnant of the estates going out of the family by forfeiture, as they had nearly done at the outset of his own career under a mistaken apprehension as to his conduct. This appears from a writ addressed in his favour to the Sheriff of Gloucestershire by King Edward II. in 1322,[2] enjoining that functionary, since John de Berkeley was of his retinue in his expedition against the rebels, and is still with him, to return his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, which had been seized into the King's hands under the impression that he had not obeyed the royal summons. This writ bears date just a week before the defeat of the malcontent Barons at Boroughbridge, where several of the (Fitzharding) Berkeleys were taken prisoners, though the Baron and his eldest son, fortunately for themselves, had been arrested some time previously as leaders of the attacks on the estates of the Le Despensers in Gloucestershire.

In these outrages Thomas (1) de Berkeley, of Cobberley, had likewise taken part,[3] so that it was not unnatural that the young Head of his House should have been *primâ facie* suspected of complicity. In the following year, 1323, John de Berkeley was summoned to be at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the 2nd of August "to proceed against Robert Bruce, of Scotland, and his accomplices in rebellion"; but his former experience in that country must have

[1] Pedes Finium, Glouc., 15th Edw. III. No. 198.

[2] Rot. Litt. Claus. 15th Edward II. "pro Johanne de Berkele—Rex Vicom̃i Glouc. Salutem Quia J. de B. fuit nobiscum in obsequium nostr̃ in presenti expeditione nostr̃ contra noncomparantes et rebelles, et adhuc nobiscum p eadem expeditione manet . . . tibi precipimus qd terras et ten. bona et catalla ipsius J. in ballià tua que tu credens ipsum ad nos non venisse ex occasione cepisti in manū nostram, eidem J de B sine dilacione restituas una cum exitibus de eisdem ter. et ten. p te perceptis a temp. captionis supradicte Teste Rege apud Derby xv die Martii."

[3] Parliamentary Writs, Vol. IV.—Thomas de B. joins in forcible entry on the lands of Dodington, in the County of Oxford, belonging to Hugh le Despenser Cobberley was in consequence seized into the King's hands, but was afterwards restored.—Rot. Litt. Claus. 15th Edw. II. m. 18.

disinclined him for the duty, as he profferred a substitute properly equipped and mounted.[1]

During the three ensuing years of Edward II.'s reign we hear nothing of John, but as he had taken so decided a line of his own in opposition to the Lords of Berkeley, he must have found himself in a difficult position when the tables were turned, and the King, through the intrigues of Queen Isabella and her paramour Sir Roger Mortimer, who was father-in-law to Thomas (IV) the then Baron, became a prisoner in Berkeley Castle.

That it was so is apparent from his Petitions to Parliament early in the next reign complaining "that this Lord by duresse and by colour of a new purchase which of late he hath made, and by aid and maintenance of Sir Roger Mortimer, late one of the King's Councillors,[2] had obtained return of writs and all other royal franchises within this Hundred of Berkeley which before was gildable, and would incroach to him the attendance and Seigneury of him the said John, to his disinherison and to the damage of the King."[3] Smyth, who enters fully into the history of these disputes, and supplies many details not now to be traced, whilst admitting in the main the truth of this complaint, considers it nevertheless "an unneighbourly act," as the Baron was then on trial for his life for conniving at the murder of Edward II. It must be borne in mind, however, that there had been illblood between the two families on this very point for nearly half-a-century, and that Sir John, as he is now styled, must have bitterly felt the indignity of being called on to do suit and service in the Hundred Court, for his Manors of Dursley and Newington, wherein, as he informs the King in a subsequent petition, "he and his ancestors, time out of mind, had used to have service of

[1] Rot. de Sumicione Exercitus, 16th Edw. II.—(Nomina Villarum 448 Exchequer). Johes de Berkeley Dñs de Derseley venit et optulit servicium militare unius feodi militis– faciendum per Will Trip, cum uno equo cooptato.

[2] Roger de Mortimer had, after considerable hesitation, been condemned and executed.

[3] Smyth refers to this petition in two places as "Petitions in Parl. 4 Ed. III. No. 101, in Arce. Lond.," but it has not been printed with the others, nor can I find it at the Record Office.

all manner of Summonses distresses and attachments so that (save on default) neither the Sheriff of Gloucestershire nor his Bayleyes might enter in execution of anything to his office appertaining."[1]

It might have been supposed that the time was by no means inopportune for obtaining a fair hearing on such matters, since Sir John had continued loyal throughout to his late unfortunate sovereign, whose enemies had, to say the least, been aided and abetted by the Lords Berkeley. But the resentment of Edward III. against those implicated in his father's murder can have been neither deep nor lasting, for we find Thomas the Baron, after undergoing the semblance of a trial before a jury of Gloucestershire, Knights, instead of by his Peers, restored to the full enjoyment of the royal favour. No doubt this was partly due to policy on the King's part, for ever since the extinction of the House of Clare on the fatal field of Bannockburn, and the partition of the estates of the Earldom of Gloucester among non-resident nobles, the influence of the Baronial House of Berkeley in the county had been rapidly increasing, so that at this period it had become not merely paramount but exclusive. As asserted by Sir John de Berkeley in his first petition "the Sheriff and the Officers and Ministers of Justice, were all this Lord's household Servants and of his standing wages and livery," so that a reference to them by the King for report, or the issue of Commissions to try the charges brought forward, were mere matters of form. Even from parliament the only redress he could obtain was a recommendation that "the Rolls of Chancery should be viewed," which seems to have led to nothing. He did not, however, confine himself to Protests or Petitions. Lord Berkeley's bailiffs having replevined the cattle of Robert Webbe, which had been impounded in Dursley, and seized six of Sir John's own oxen in order to coerce him into answering Webbe's complaint in the Hundred Court of Berkeley, he, with his brother Richard, Nicholas his son, then a

[1] Smyth's reference for this is "Brevia Regis 10 Ed. III. bundellum in turre Lond." Some of these bundles still exist, but in very fragmentary condition.

[2] "car ils teñt a ses fees et a ses robes et de son ménage." Words quoted by Smyth from the original Petition.—*Lives of the Berkeleys*, Vol. I. p. 331.

boy of eleven, and a party of his retainers, rescued his oxen by force, carrying off besides goods to the value of £40, and wounding a bailiff.[1] On a subsequent occasion he went further still, preventing, by violence, the arrest and committal to Berkeley Castle of a man charged with felony.[2] In both cases judges were appointed to try the actions brought against him, and damages awarded; but though worsted on all points, the ruling passion of his life seems to have been to recover and maintain his independence, and he must to some extent have been successful, as the Lords of Dursley retained their own Court Leet down to Smyth's days.[3]

Owing no doubt to his antagonism to the Baron, he was excluded from every post of trust or emolument in the county, which must have been somewhat mortifying to him, as Sir Thomas Berkeley, the head of the Cadet branch of Cobberley, held all in turn, from Sheriff, Custos of the Peace, Escheator, Collector of Subsidies, &c. He was returned, however, as Knight of the Shire for one, if not two, Parliaments, the name of John de Berkeley appearing on the Roll for Gloucestershire in 1328, and again with the addition "de Dursley" in 1340.[4]

It would not appear that he was out of favour at Court, since in matters other than his dispute with Lord Berkeley full justice was done him. In 1335, for example, he had no difficulty in obtaining restitution of the 8 acres of meadow in Dursley which had been seized by the escheator on the death of Henry de Camme[5]—and in 1345 he got free seisine of 58 acres in Cold Newington, which had been forfeited by one Robert de Welton for felony.[6] A year later still he applied for the King's permission to make grants for life of small allotments of land in his Manors

[1] Rot. Pat. 6th Edw. III. pars 2—memb. 9 in dorso.

[2] Rot. in Banco Regis, 20th Edw. III.—Trinity—Smyth, Vol. I. p. 332.

[3] Smyth's Hundred of Berkeley "Durseley," p. 175.

[4] Return of Members of Parliament from earliest date; published by order of the House of Commons in 1878.

[5] See before page 256, Note 3

[6] Abbrevatio Rot. Orig. Vol. II. 18th Edw. III.

of Dursley and Cold Newington to no less than a dozen of his dependants and their wives.[1]

In four cases, half a virgate is given; in six, a quarter only; in one, but 4 acres; whilst in the last, to a woman, the usual messuage with its appurtenances, which is included in all the others, is alone specified.

In all probability these allotments were composed of scattered strips in different fields, and had previously been held in villenage by the grantees,[2] the object of the Royal licence, for which Sir John had to pay heavily, being to enable him temporarily to convert a portion of his demesne, hitherto held on such tenure, into free tenancies for life. No reservation is made of money rents, nor are Customary Services of any kind alluded to as exigible: the Lord of the Fee himself remaining liable for the military service due to the King. That was not indeed very onerous, for the land is described as hilly and poor, lying doubtless high up on the Cotswolds; the whole 144 acres being worth in the aggregate but 40s. a year, and representing only the twelfth of a Knight's fee. Still the gift was gratuitous,[3] and such an act of considerate liberality comes as a surprise from a feudal landowner of the 14th century.

It suggests at any rate that Sir John, if hot tempered, was kindhearted. No respecter of persons, as we have already seen, but apt to speak his mind very freely on occasion, despite the official trammels of Norman-French, with which language he was perhaps not so familiar as his forefathers, and ready to follow up his words by taking the law into his own hands—regardless of consequences—if unable otherwise to get his own way! Differing in fact on the whole far less from the type of English country gentlemen who flourished four or five centuries after him, than might have been anticipated.

[1] Inquisitio ad quod damnum. Johes de Berkeley de Durseley—pro Roberto atte Elme, Witto le *Woodward*, Roberto le *Smyth* et aliis.—Inq. p.m. Vol. II. 19th Edw. III. 2nd Nos. 24.

[2] *Vide* Seebohm's English Village Community.

[3] "Si sit ad damnum vel prejudicium nostrum—si concedamus Johi de B. de Dursley, Chivaler, quod ipse *dare* possit et *concedere*.—Inq. ut supra.

Leave was given to him in the ensuing year, upon payment of 100s.,[1] to carry out his wish with regard to these allotments. There is nothing in connection with them to show, as might from the date be inferred, that they were made on account of Military Services rendered, or to be rendered, in the war with France then about commencing; nor is there any evidence to indicate that Sir John himself took part in that campaign. The complete change in the military organization of the kingdom at the commencement of Edward the III.'s reign, which put an end to Lists of Scutages, Marshal's Rolls, &c., renders it more difficult indeed to ascertain whether the Tenants of the Crown served in person or no. The only occasion on which John's name is recorded in this connection is at an earlier period of his career, in a writ for arraying and leading the Archers of Gloucestershire to Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1337,[2] about the time of the battle of Hallidon Hill. He was not, like Sir Thomas of Cobberley, among the Knights of that county ordered to cross over with the King to France in July, 1345, and as he was by that date on the wrong side of fifty, and had grown-up sons fit to serve in his stead, it is not likely that he shared with his cousin in the glories of Crécy, which was fought a year later.

He died early in 1349, in the 56th year of his age, his wife, to whom he had been united for upwards of thirty-two years, following him in less than four months to the grave.

This, at first sight, has a romantic look, but it should not be forgotten that just at this period "the Black Death," which carried off half the population of England, was at its worst, and that both may have fallen victims to that pestilence.

Sir John's writ of "diem clausit" is dated 28th January,[3] and from the Inquisition held under it on the 9th February

[1] Abbrevatio Rot. Original. 20th Edward III., Vol. II. p. 182. —Joñes de Berkeley de Durseley, Chivaler, fecit finem cum Rege p centum solidos pro licentiâ habendi quod ipse quoddam tenementum in Durseley, &c.

Rot. Scotiæ, Vol. I. p. 502, Oct. 1337.—"De Sagittariis in diversis Com' Angliæ, elegendis arraiandis, et ad Novum Castrum super Tynam, ducendis." "Et post modu xviij die Nov. proxo sequenti—associatus eisdem Witto Tracy et Witto de Kyngeston,—Joñes de Berkeleye de Durseleye."

[3] Inq. p. m. 23rd Edw. III. pars. 1, No. 18.

following, it appears that with his usual fondness for settlements he had some time before his death conveyed all his estates to his wife Hawise and the heirs of their bodies, so that he held nothing in fee from the King "on the day on which he died,"[1] which, strange to say, is therein certified to have been the *3rd February*, nearly a week after the issue of the Writ of Escheat!

Hawise's death occurred on the 25th May,[2] the Inquisition thereon being attached to that of her husband.

Besides the two sons named in remainder, they left a daughter, Matilda, who became the wife of Robert de Cantilupe.

The elder heir,

NICHOLAS DE BERKELEY,

who succeeded his mother, by virtue of the entail, in the family estates, is stated to have been then twenty-eight years of age.[3] He had much difficulty in obtaining seizine of the Manor of Dodington, for although Hawise was expressly stated to have held it from the Crown,[4] the old counter-claim seems to have been revived by a sister of the second Gilbert de Clare, so that in 1351 Nicholas was forced to petition the King in parliament for recognition of his rights.[5] A writ was in consequence issued bearing date 1st Nov. in that year, assigning Thomas de Bradeston, Simon Basset, and John Tracy as commissioners to take an inquisition, which was done at Wotton-under-edge on the Feast of St. Thomas the Martyr. The jury report the Manor of Dodington to be held by Ralph, Earl of Stafford, as parcel of the Earldom of Gloucester,

[1] *Vide* Inq. ut supra—"qui dicunt quod Johes de Berkele de Dursele nihil tenuit de Đno Rege in feodo die quo obiit, sed tenuit Maner. de Dursele etceī convencione quâdam de Hawisiâ uxore suâ et heredibus eorundem de corporibus suis legitimé procreatis."

[2] Inq. p.m 23rd Edward III. pars 1, No. 18.

[3] *Vide* Inq. ut supra.—"Et dicunt quod Nicholaus de Berkeleye fil. Johis de B. de Dursele est filius et hæres propiquior dictæ Hawisiæ, et est ætatis viginti et octo annorum."

[4] "Dicunt quod tenuit etiam Manerium de Dodington de Đno Rege per Servicium militare."—Inquisitio ut ante.

[5] "Quia Nichs de Berkeley fil. et heres Hawisiæ quæ fuit uxor Johis de Berkeley per petitionem suam coram nobis et concilio nostro in Parliamento nostro apud Westmonstr. ultimo tento—exhibitam, &c. de jure Manerii de Dodynton in Com. Glouc. &c. &c."—Inq. p.m. 25th Edw. III. m. 60.

in right of Margaret his wife (niece of Earl Gilbert [II])—and that Nicholas de Berkeley holds it from the said Earl Ralph as one Knight's fee, doing homage to him and paying 100s. for his relief.[1]

As the commissioners on this assize were all tenants of the Lords Berkeley, and it was holden at one of their principal seats, the result may not improbably have tended to convince Nicholas that the influence of his kinsmen was sure to turn the scale against those who were not of their party, and thus to induce him to depart, as he not long afterwards did, from the course his father had pursued, and in which he had himself participated in his youth as already shown. At all events he lived henceforth on the best of terms with his all-powerful neighbours, and a few years later seems to have accompanied them throughout the campaigns which were recommenced in France. Smyth's words are "And now (July, 1356) went also in company together—Maurice eldest son of Thomas Lord Berkeley, Sir Thomas Berkeley of Uley his cousin german, *Sir Nicholas Berkeley of Durseley*, Sir Peter de Veel of Tortworth, and divers others of these parts."[2]

This account is corroborated by the Gascon Roll of that year, on which it stands recorded that Letters of Protection were granted by the King at Westminster on 28th June to Nicholas de Berkeley de Dursley "who is about to set out in the retinue of Edward Prince of Wales for the parts of Gascony,"—a general power of attorney authorising William Harper, the chaplain, and William de Westlode, to act for him in all Courts in England till the ensuing Easter, being likewise ratified.[3]

There can be no question therefore that Sir Nicholas formed one of the band of heroes who on Monday, the 19th Sept. 1356,

[1] "Inquisitio capta coram Simone Basset et Johe Tracy apud Wotton under-Edge in Com. Glouc. die jovis in festo Sči Thome Martyr—Anno R. Reg. Ed. &c. vicesimo quinto.—Inq. ut supra.

[2] Lives of the Berkeley, Vol. I. p. 257.

[3] Rot. Vasconiæ, 29th Edward III. mem. 8.—"Nicholaus de Berkeley qui in obsequiū Regis in comitivâ Edwardi Principis Walliæ ad partes Vasconiæ profecturus est—habet literas Regis de generali attornū sub nominibus Will' Harpur capellani et Will' Westlode,-&c.—Teste Rege apud Westmoñ xxviij die Junii

"gained the most extraordinary victory that the annals of the World can produce"[1] over a force which, at the lowest estimate, outnumbered them by eight to one! In all probability he fought side by side with Sir Maurice, heir to the Barony, who is described as having been together "with his men for two hours in the fore part of the battle," but following too hotly in pursuit of the retreating enemy was taken prisoner by the Dauphin's body guard, and not ransomed until four years afterwards. More fortunate than his valiant comrade, the Lord of Dursley seems to have got back safely to England with the Black Prince, who landed there in May, 1357, for we find him at Sandwich in Sept. 1359, among those about to set out again for France with the King himself, being this time in the retinue of Sir Edward le Despencer,[2] a Baron holding large estates in Gloucestershire. The King returned from this expedition in May, 1360, on concluding a truce for eighteen months with the French, but stayed only a short time in England, and as Edward le Despencer is shown by the Rolls to have been in France in 1361, it is probable that Sir Nicholas remained there uninterruptedly. He was, however, at home by 1363, for in the month of October he was returned as one of the Knights of the Shire for his native county,[3] an honour which he does not seem to have appreciated, as he never served again. His resignation may have arisen from his again proceeding on foreign service; Sir Edward le Despenser was certainly in France from 1368 to 1371; but previous to the earlier of these dates Sir Nicholas had entered on a widely different career by becoming one of the Household Knights of his former companion in arms, Maurice Lord Berkeley.

It seems astounding that he should have consented to fill such a post, considering the sarcasms levelled by bluff Sir John, his

[1] Life of Edward the Black Prince, by G. R. P. James, who follows Froissart in the main.

[2] Rot. Franciæ, 33rd Edw. III. pars. 2, m. 14—"Nicholaus de Berkele Chivaler qui in obsequiū Regis in comitivâ Edwardi le Despenser ad partes transmarinas profecturus est habet literas Regis de protectione (cum clausulâ "Volumus, &c.") usque ad festum—Pasche proxime futurum duraturas.—T. Rege apud Sandwic, 2nd die Sept.

[3] Return of Members of Parliament, published in 1878, by order of the House of Commons.

father, against those who, as he phrased it, "received the wages and wore the livery"[1] of the castle, and apart indeed from the angry feelings which prompted these sallies, it certainly goes against the grain, that the last of the Berkeleys of Dursley, eleventh in descent from Roger, of Domesday, should be found serving in the precincts where his ancestors once bore sway.[1]

Doubtless, however, his contemporaries were no more surprised by his acceptance of the position, than we are by a Peer's being gazetted to a place in the Royal Household at the present day. It could not have been for the sake of the emolument that he took it, for independently of his own hereditary estates, he had long ere this acquired one-half the Manor of Bitton, in the same county, as well as lands in Wilts and Somersetshire, by marrying Cecilia, elder daughter and heiress of Sir William de la More. The year of their marriage is uncertain; but as in the Inquisition on the death of her brother John, in 1349, she was returned as fourteen years old,[2] (approaching therefore the legal age of majority for females) it is not likely that as a Ward of the Crown, whose hand was worth money, she had been suffered much longer to remain single.

Smyth expressly points out that Sir John Tracy, one of the colleagues of Sir Nicholas in his new office, could boast as fair a descent since the Norman Conquest as any in the kingdom,[3] whilst Sir Richard de Acton, the third, was in like manner the representative of one of the most ancient and honorable Gloucestershire families; and he narrates at some length how these three Knights, with twenty-three esquires, were sent in November, 1367, by Lord Maurice, then dying from the effect of the wounds he had received at Poictiers, to conduct his heir Thomas, a boy of only fifteen, to Wengrave, in Buckinghamshire, where he was married with great pomp to the heiress of Lord Lisle.[4]

Whether Sir Nicholas continued to retain the post after the young bridegroom attained his majority, does not appear; but he must have enjoyed the Castle interest in the county throughout

[1] *Vide* page 260, note 2.

[2] Inq. p.m., 23rd Edward III., p. 2; 1st Nos., No. 87—Writ of diem clausit of John, the heir of William de la More, deceased.

[3] Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. I., p. 305. [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 3.

his lifetime, since he filled the office of High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, (according to Sir Robt. Atkyns) in 1370, and unquestionably in 1375.[1] That he was held of much account, about this period, is shewn also by his being appointed one of the trustees of the settlement made on the re-marriage of Alicia, widow of Sir John Beauchamp, of Hache, with Sir Mathew de Gournay, in 1374, in which capacity he incurred a penalty for acting without the King's license in selling some of the estates, although it was remitted shortly afterwards.[2]

In July, 1377, the first year of Richard the II., having been wedded many years, and having no children, Sir Nicholas obtained leave to re-settle his Manors of Dursley and Cold Newington, which he did by conveying them to his neighbours, William de Anste and Nicholas de Wanswell, who re-enfeoffed him and his wife, with remainder to his own right heirs;[3] the jury on this occasion declaring, that there remained to the said Sir Nicholas, the Manor of Dodington, which was held *from the King in capite* by military service; and also a tenement with land in Stanley-St.-Leonard's held by the same tenure of the King; besides which he held a certain pasture called Milesmore, near Dursley, from the Lord of Berkeley, by payment of a perpetual quit-rent of 2s. 6d.; and a certain other pasture near Dursley, called Tandescroft, from Sir John de Berkeley.[4]

Five years later, in July, 1382, when he had just completed his 60th year, Sir Nicholas died,[5] and was succeeded in virtue of the entail above referred to, in the Manors of Dursley and Cold Newington, by his sister Matilda, widow of Robert Cantilupe,[6] Dodington and Stanley St. Leonard's remaining subject as usual

[1] *Vide* MSS. List of Sheriffs at Record Office.

[2] Genealogy of the Meriets, by B. J. Greenfield.

[3] Inquisit. ad quod damnum, 1st Rich. II., No. 113.

[4] Smyth, in the Hundred of Berkeley, p. 139—says this was Sir John of Beverston, but gives no reference. Nicholas had a younger brother John (p. 275).

[5] His writ of "diem clausit" is dated 1st August, 6th Rich. II. No. 9 Inq. p.m., Vol. III.

[6] According to a quotation by Fosbroke, Matilda and her husband had previously held a messuage and two virgates in Dodington, of Nicholas, by payment of a pair of gilt spurs, and 10s. 3d. per annum.

to the claims of the widow Cecilia, who, as we have seen, was otherwise well off. In the assignment of dower[1] which consequently took place on both the latter manors, in presence of Matilda Cantilupe as heir-at-law, no formal extent or valuation by jurors was made; but the escheator, aided by the sheriff and coroner, awarded certain houses, gardens, and fields, in each, as equivalent to Cecilia's thirds. In the course of such partition, we catch a glimpse of the continued prevalence of Serf-dom, notwithstanding the insurrection of the preceding years, nine villeins (homines nativi) and their families (sequelæ) to the number of twenty souls, being assigned to the widow on Dodington.[2] One is unprepared, too, to find that they all bore Anglo-French christian names, John, Thomas, William, Thomaset, Frances, &c., the Gurths and Wambas of the 13th century having disappeared, and left no trace either of Saxon descent, or of the Celtic origin which some writers try to associate with the designation of "Native."

Notwithstanding Cecilia's mature age the escheator is, as usual, enjoined only to let her have her dowry on her swearing not to marry again without the royal permission. For this it need scarcely be said she never applied; but in 1385[3] she conveyed her half of the Manor of Bitton, called "Oldland," held in capite, to William Crok and Mathew Waleys in trust for re-settlement, first on herself, and then on Sir John Devereux, of Standen, and his wife Joan, who was the relict of John Button, or Bitton, and their heirs for ever, the King's license being subsequently obtained.[4] The remainder of her property passed on her death, in 1393[5] to her second cousin on the mother's side, John Botiller,

[1] Inq., p.m., 6th Rich. II., No. 9.—"Assignatio dotis Ceciliæ quæ fuit uxor̃ Nicholai de Berkeley."

[2] *Ibid.*, Et etiam assignavi eidem Ceciliæ ix homines nativos cum eorum sequelâ: videlicet Joh̃n, Thomã Senior, Wiłłm, &c., &c.

[3] Inq. ad quod damnum 9th Rich. II., No. 9.—Inq. Vol. iii., p. 173.

[4] It passed from their daughter and heiress, Joan, the wife of John Chesebrook, in 1422, by Fine, 10th Henry V. 1422, (Ellacombe's History of Bitton, p. 110) to Thomas Wykes, the subsequent inheritor of Dursley, and continued to be held with that estate for a century and a half.

[5] Inq. p.m., 17th Richard II., No. 5, Vol. III.—"Quia Cecilia quæ fuit uxor̃ Nicholai de Berkeley, Chivaler, quæ de nobis tenuit in capite,

of Shentingfield, Berks, her life interest, in Dodington and Stanley St. Leonard's, reverting of course to her sister-in-law,

MATILDA CANTILUPE.

In the Inquisition on the death of her brother, Sir Nicholas, in 1382, she was stated to be above 50 years of age, and was then, apparently, a widow, as no mention is made of her husband either in that document or in the proceedings as to assignment of dower already cited. It is only indeed, from the Inquisition on her own death, in 1403,[1] when she must have been considerably past seventy, that we learn that his name was Robert Cantilupe; that she had had a son by him who bore the same christian and surname, but who had likewise predeceased her: so that she was in possession, at the time of her death, of the Manor of Hedyngton-Cantelo, in Wiltshire, which, though then through escheat in the King's hands, was held of the De Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, by nearly nominal service.[2] She was succeeded in this, as well as in the Gloucestershire estates, by her grand-daughter, Elizabeth,[3] wife of Richard Chedder,[4] then twenty-three years of age. For the

diem clausit extremum, &c., &c.—Teste me ipso apud Westm. xxvi., die Oct.

Inq.—Ceciliæ uxor̃ Nich. de Berkeley, Chiv^{r}.

Button manr̃ dimid. alias dict. Oldelande, Glouc.

Shawe manr̃ in Castelcumbe	unum molendinum unum messuagium una caruc̃ terre 20 acras prati et 40^{s} redditus id̃ de Maner. de Canynges.	Wilts.
Congresbury	un. messuag. duo molendina aquatic. 80 acras terr' et prati ut de manr̃ de Congresbury.	Somerset.
Yatton - -	unum messuag. 80 acras terre et prati ut de Manr̃ de Yatton.	

[1] Inq. p.m., 4th Henry IV.—Quia Matild̃ Cantelo, quæ de nob. ten. in cap. diem clausit extremum, &c.—Test. meipso apud Westm̃ xxix. die decembris.

[2] Inq. p.m. 4th Hen. IV., pars. 6.—"Qui dicunt quod Matild̃ Cantelo, tenuit Maner. de Hedyngton-Cantelo, ad summam vitæ suæ; qd man. pertinet ad hered̃ Rob. Cantelou nuper viri ejusd. Matild̃. Et qd predict manerium cum p̃ciis tenetur in capite de Comite Herefordiæ per servicium *quadrigessime* partis feodi unius militis."

[3] *Ibid.*, Et quod Elizabeth uxor̃ Ric̃ Chedder est consanguiñ et hæres ejusd̃ Matild̃ propinquior—vid^{t} filia Rob̃tifilii predict Matild̃—Et qd p̃dct. Elizabeth. est ætatis viginti et trium annorum et amplius.

[4] Doubtless a scion of the Chedders, of Chedder, in Somersetshire, whose estates had been divided among heiresses, a few years previously.

descent of the Manor of Dursley, from the Chedders through the Wykes, until its alienation by sale, in 9th Elizabeth, I must refer to the pedigree annexed. My task finishes with the extinction of the original line of Berkeley, which had held it for upwards of three hundred years. I cannot indeed go the length of endorsing Smyth's assertion, that in Sir Nicholas "ended all the issue, male, of Roger de Berkeley, Lord of Dursley, with whom the Lord Robert Fitz Harding had the contention and agreement,[1] for, setting aside the question as to the Coberley branch (to the history of which I purpose devoting a separate Paper), there were younger sons in several of the eight generations, which held Dursley during the period referred to,[2] and it is scarcely likely that none of them left male descendants. These may, not improbably, have dropped the original surname since, as previously pointed out. (p. 235) it was customary for cadets to be called by subsidiary names, from their place of residence,—*e.g.*, de Newington, de Camme, de Dodington, and even it would seem, de Dursley.[3] It was, doubtless, owing mainly to this practice, that the name of Berkeley never became common in Gloucestershire, nor descended in the social scale, insomuch that it is not to be found, I believe, in the County Directory even at the present day.

Arms.

A few words in conclusion respecting the Armorial Bearings of the Durseley Berkeleys, which are usually[4] given as

"*Argent, a fess between three Martlets Sable.*"

[1] Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. i., p. 56.

[2] They were certainly a short-lived and unprolific race! No male descendant of Sir John can of course have been living when his daughter Matilda inherited, so that his younger sons, John and Richard, must have died like their elder brother Sir Nicholas, without issue. Smyth speaks of a Sir Edward de Berkeley, of *Durseley*, (Vol. I. p.258 "Lives"). No one of that name ever held the manor, though he may have been another younger brother of its last lord. All that I find of him is, that after signal services in the French Wars, he died in 1380 seized of the Manor of Broome, in Suffolk, in right of his wife, but not of any lands in the County of Gloucester.

[3] A John de Dersele served in the Scottish Wars, and, curiously enough, his name occurs on the Gascony Roll of 29th Edward III., not very far from that of Sir Nicholas de Berkeley, as obtaining Letters of Protection, during absence in France.

[4] *Vide* Bigland's Gloucestershire Collections, Collins's Peerage, Blunt's Dursley, &c.

the selfsame coat borne *without difference of any sort* by the Berkeleys of Cobberley!

This, if true, would constitute a singular heraldic anomaly, its strangeness being enhanced by the fact that the Cadet line had branched off from the parent stem so early as the 12th century, long before Arms had become hereditary, and when Knights of the same family generally chose a different cognizance. Any notion moreover of the simultaneous assumption of the Coat in question is precluded by the evidence which exists that the Cobberley line did not bear it up to nearly the close of the 13th century, the arms of Sir Giles (II) being blazoned on Rolls of that period[1] as:

Quarterly or and azure a bendlet purpure,

the latter charge being in one described as "*a baston gules.*" The earliest examples of the *fess between three martlets*, of which I am aware, are engraven in stone on the buttresses of the aisle, and repeated in the windows, of the nave of Cobberley Church,[3] which was rebuilt by Sir Giles's son, Sir Thomas (I) about 1330.

It may perhaps be conjectured that the latter, who came of age twenty years before that date, assumed these Bearings, in place of his paternal coat, in consequence of having married an heiress to whose family they had belonged, a course not infrequently adopted before the practice of quartering arms was introduced. This supposition seems all the more plausible inasmuch as they were by no means uncommon, and were borne by more than one ancient Gloucestershire House.[4]

No authority for their having ever been used by the Dursley line is, so far as I know, adduced, the coat being attributed to them in modern days solely on the strength of "Glover's Ordinary of Arms," a work compiled in 1585, principally from an older MSS. by Thomas Jenyns.

[1] Gile de Berkeley—*Quarterly or and az. a bendlet purpure.*—Roll E, 1277-87.—Harleian MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 6137 and 6589.

[2] *Ibid., Quarterly or and az—a baston gules.*—Roll F, 1262-92.—Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 6137.

[3] Bigland's Gloucestershire Collection—sub voce.

[4] In Papworth's British Armorials they are assigned to ten other families, including the Hobbeys of Hailes in Gloucestershire, the Eryons, Bagots, &c.

As the Berkeleys of Dursley had then been extinct two hundred years, it is quite possible that they were supposed to have been almost identical with those of Cobberley, whose arms were well known, as being still quartered—in right of the marriage of the heiress with Sir Thomas Brydges in the 15th century—by the Lords Chandos of Sudeley.

This view is supported by the fact that all mention of Cobberley is omitted by the Elizabethan Herald, Durseley and Eldresfeld alone being named.[1]

How great, moreover, was the confusion between the two Lines is strikingly illustrated by a pedigree of the Brydges family, of a somewhat later date, preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, which gives their connection with the Berkeleys as follows :[2]

Sir Thomas Barkley of *Dursley*=Elizabeth

Gyles Barkley, Knight.=Jane

Thomas Barkley, Knight of *Cobberley*=Elizabeth, sister and heiress of John Lord Chandos.

Alice daughter and heir to Thomas Barkley,=Thomas Bridges, Knight.

the last Sir Thomas, of Cobberley, being thus made grandson of a Sir Thomas, of Dursley, who never existed !

The question remains, what were the Armorial Bearings of the House of Dursley ? There can, I think, be little doubt that Burke is right in describing their "ancient coat" in his General Armoury, as

"*Asure, three lions passant guardant, or.*"

though mislead into the belief that they afterwards exchanged it for the *fess and marttets.* Papworth indeed cites from Glover, only *2* lions as blazoned by the Berkeleys, and assigns the *3* lions to the Camvilles and others, but it was no unusual circumstance for the number of charges to vary ; so that Burke may be quite right.

[1] *Vide* Papworth's Ordinary of British Armorials, London, 1874, p. 732—the authority designated by that author's V—referring to Glover's Ordinary—Cotton MSS. Tiberius.—Harl, MSS. 1392 and 1459, D 10.

[2] *Vide* The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, taken in the year 1623, &c., edited for the Harleian Society, by Sir John Maclean, and W. C. Heane Esq., Miscellaneous Pedigrees, p. 233. Bridges—Harl. MSS. 1041 and 1543.

Whether these golden lions on an azure shield, grew out of the single lion rampant engraven on the Seal used by the third Roger de Berkeley in 1154, or were derived from some other source, must be matter of conjecture. As yet I have not been able actually to verify the use of such bearings by his descendants, still less to trace their history: but I do not despair of still doing so, and trust meanwhile that enough has been here said to ensure their substitution for those heretofore erroneously attributed to the Berkeleys of Dursley as above pointed out.

PEDIGREE OF THE BERKELEYS OF DURSLEY,

Continued from Transactions, Vol. VIII. page 223.

HENRY DE BERKELEY I. = Agnes, survived her husband many years. (Testa de Nevill).
Had seisin of his lands before May, 1220 (Cart. St. Augus. Abbey). Died before Sept. 1221. (Rot. Litt. Claus. 5 Hen. III).

- JOHN DE BERKELEY I. = Sibille, dau. of ..... Married cir. 1240.
  born cir. 1219, had seizin of his lands by middle of 1240. (Pedes Finium, Glouces. 25 Hen. III. No. 240); dead before 13 May, 1245. (Rot. Litt. Claus. 29 Hen. III.)
- ? a younger son named William, alive in 1248, (Assize Roll, Glouc. 32 Hen. III.)

  - HENRY DE BERKELEY II. = Joan, dau. of Mar. cir. 1268; had assignment of dower 23 July, 1287.
    born cir. 1241; had seizin before 1262. (Inq. p. m. Ric. de Clare, com. Glouc., 47 Hen. III. Writ diem clausit extremum dated 15 July, 1287. (Inq. p.m. 15 Edw. I. No. 18.
  - a younger son, name unknown.

    - WM. DE BERKELEY, = Margery, dau. of ..... mar. in 1287.
      born 29th Sep. 1269; (Inq. ut supra) aged 18 years on his father's death; did homage for lands, Feb. 1291. (Rot. Litt. Claus. 39 Edward I.) Dd. before Apr. 1300. (Rot. Litt. Claus. 28 Edw. I.)
    - Sibilla, 6 Edw. I.
    - John got water-mill of Dursley. (Rot. Fin. 21 Edw. I. m. 2.
    - Margaret.
      Agnes.
      Alice.

A

JOHN DE BERKELEY II. aged 6 years on his father's death; born cir. 1294; did homage for his lands 15 Aug. 1314 (Marshal's Roll, 8 Ed. II.) Lord of the Burgh of Dursley and Vill of Newington 1316 (Nomina Villarum); proffered Knight's service 1323 (Marshal's Roll, 16 Ed II); conveyed estates to William de Berkeley and John de Gloucester for settlement 1331; (Pedes Finium, 5 Edw. III.; died 3rd of Feb. 1349. (Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. III. par. 1. No. 18.)

= Hawise, dau. of ..... mar. cir. 1321; died 22 May, 1349. (Inq. p.m. ut infra.)

Richard aided in an attack on Ld. Berkeley's bailiff (Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. III.)

NICHOLAS DE BERKELEY, aged 25 years and more on his father's death; returned heir to his mother 1349 (Rot. Parl. as to Dodington 1351); in the suite of Black Prince at Poictiers 1355 (Rot. Vasc. 29 Edw. III.); accompanied K. Edw. to France 1359 (Rot. Franc. 33 Edw. III.); resettled estates 1377 (Inq. ad. qd. damnum, 1 Rich. II.); died 1382, s.p. (Inq. p.m. 6 Rich. II. No. 9.)

= Cecilia, da. and heiress of Sir Wm. de la More, of Bitton, co. Glouc.; mar. cir. 1354; died Aug. 1393. (Inq. p.m. 17 Rich. II)

JOHN de Berkeley, named in remainder (Ped. Fin.) Died s.p. in vita fratris.

MATILDA, returned heir to her brother 1382; found to be above 50 years of age on his death (Inq. p.m. ut supra); died before 29th Dec. 1403 (Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. IV. No. 24)

= Robert de Cantilupe, of Hedington Cantilupe, co. Wilts.

ROBERT DE CANTILUPE =

ELIZABETH DE CANTILUPE, born cir. 1379; mar. before 1402; returned heir to her grandmother 1402, and was then aged 23 years and more (Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. IV.)

= Richard Chedder.

THOMAS WYKES, Esq., who had in 1422 acquired the Manor of Oldeland, *alias* half Bitton, by fine from the heirs of Sir John Devereux, to whom it had been alienated in 1385 by Cecilia, relict of Sir Nicholas de Berkeley, of Dursley [Ped. Fin. 10 Hen. V. cited by Revd. H. T. Ellacombe in *History of Bitton*); inherited Dursley *temp.* Hen. VI. in right of his wife (Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, Vol. I. p. 56); died 5th April, 1473; seized of the Manors of Dursley, Newington-Bagpath, Stanley St. Leonard's, Dodington, and Oldeland (Inq. p. m. 13 Edw. IV. No. 35).

= Jane Chedder, dau. & heir of Richard Chedder, and granddaughter of Robert Cantilupe, by Matilda sis. and heir of Nicholas de Berkeley (Atkyns' Gloucestershire Collections, Rudder's Gloucestershire); survived her husband, and living in 1482 (Inq. p.m. 22 Edw. IV. on Sir John Barre who held of her.)

B

B

JOHN WYKES, Esq., son and heir, aged 30 years, and more on his father's death (Inq. p. m. ut supra); impleaded Edmund Berkeley, of Plauches, as to Dursley, Newington, & Stanley (de Ban. Rolls, 14 Ed. IV. rot. 353) levied a fine of £100 on those manors and Dodington in favour of Edmund Berkeley at midsummer in the same year, 1474 (Ped. Fin. Glouc., 14 Edw. IV. No. 34); died seized of all the manors inherited from his father, 4 Oct. 1485 (Inq. p. m. 1 Hen. VII. No. 72 and 3 Hen. VII. No. 77) = Maud, daughter of Walter Langley, of Sodington Langley; mar. before 1468. (Ped. of Langley Heralds, Visit. of Glouc. Harl. Soc. 1623, p. 93, also Atkyns.)

EDMUND WYKES, son and heir, aged 17 years on his father's death: died 21 Nov. 1514 (Inq. p. m. 6 Hen. VIII. No. 87) = Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Norton. (Atkyns' Glouc. Collections).

NICHOLAS WYKES, son and heir, aged 26 years and more on his father's death; died 21 April, 1558 (Inq. p. m. 4 & 5 Philip and Mary, No. 48.) = Elizabeth, da. of Sir Robt. Poyntz, of Iron Acton. (Heralds' visit. of Glouc. 1623, p. 129; & Maclean's Memoir of the Poyntz Family, p. 95. 1st wife)

Thos. Madock of Woleston. co. Glouc. (Heralds' visit. of Glouc. 1623). = Mary

JOHN (II.) WYKES, son & heir; died v.p. 12 May, 1536 (Inq. p.m. ut supra.) = Agnes, dau. of Sir Thomas Danvers, of Dantrey Co., Wilts. She remarried Geo. Jones, and died 1560. (Smyth's Hun. of Berkeley, p. 139.)

ROBERT WYKES, of Dursley, son and heir, succeeded his grandfather, then aged 30 years (Inq. ut supra). He ruined himself by re-building the Manor House of Dodington, and sold his estates one after another, Dursley being the first alienated in 1564, close upon 500 years from the date at which it was originally granted by the Conqueror to the first Roger de Berkeley, this Robert's ancestor. = Elizabeth dau. of ... ...

Arms of the Wykes of Dursley.

The arms of this family differed altogether from any borne by families of the same name in the adjacent counties of Hereford, Wilts, Somerset, Devon, &c., and were so peculiar as to suggest the idea that they referred to some incident in the history of an ancestor. They are given in Burke's General Armory as :—*Ar. on a pale cotised sa. three greyhounds' heads erased or, collared gu. in the mouth a man's leg couped at the thigh, of the first.*

WYKES, of Cambridgeshire, was probably a cadet of Wykes, of Dursley, as he bore :—*Ar. three pallets sa. on each a greyhound's head erased of the first, collared or.*

THE FAMILY OF HAYNES,

OF

WESTBURY-ON-TRYM, WICK AND ABTON AND OTHER PLACES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Communicated by the Rev. F. J. POYNTON, M.A., *Rector of Kelston. Member of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archæological Society.*

This Notice of the Family is illustrated by a Pedigree, and accompanied by evidences drawn from original sources such as Wills, Registers and Memorial Inscriptions.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

Explaining the Reason and Origin of this Article on the Genealogy of Haynes.

In pursuing researches on the Genealogy of the family of Harington of Kelston, and of the West of England, on which I have been long engaged, I came upon one Branch of that wide-spread family having early and very long continued association with Bitton in Gloucestershire. It had contracted too, as might be expected, many marriages with families of adjoining parishes in the same county. I was thus led to visit the churches of those parishes in quest of Harington data. Then while looking round for their Memorials in church or churchyard, or while searching Parish Registers, or running my eye down an Index of Wills, I often lighted on the name of Haynes occupying much the same area as that of Harrington of Bitton. I had observed also their ancient Court House at Wick. Thus I became gradually interested in both families, and took equally notes of both as they came before me. Having in this way collected considerable data of the family of Haynes of Westbury and Wick; and having, since I began to collect, become a member of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, I have done what I could to render more perfect my knowledge

of the genealogy of this family, and I now offer the fruit of my labours to that Society for an article in their Transactions. If they see fit to accept it, I think they will find that it gives a much more extended and complete history of this ancient family than is contained in the County History by Sir Robert Atkyns. I should be glad if my efforts on one family should stir up some other genealogists to deduce nearer to the present time, the pedigrees of other families of Gloucestershire named in the County Histories, especially of those whose representatives are still extant, or whose Lines have only recently failed.

DATA FROM SIR ROBERT ATKYNS.

The account given by Sir Robert Atkyns of this family occurs in the History of Gloucestershire, p. 103, (2nd edition) and is as follows :

"Richard Haynes, Esq., son of Thomas, is Lord of the Manor of Wyke and Abston, and keeps a Court-leet : he has an handsome seat at Wyke and a large estate here, and in other places of this County. This family hath long resided in Gloucestershire."

"Thomas Haynes lived in the reign of Hen. vij : He married Agnes, Widow of John Wall Esq. with whom he had *the manor of Southmede*[1] in the Parish of Westbury, and *lies buried in the Gaunts' Church in Bristol.*"[2]

"*Richard* Haynes son of Thomas married Dorothy, daughter of William Veal Esq.: He lived in the reign of Q[n] Elisabeth and lies buried in Westbury. He died 1583."

"Thomas Haynes son of Richard married Joan daughter of .... Lardge : His 2nd wife was *the daughter of Sir Anthony*

[1] Rudder, in his History, p. 803, says of *Southmeade* : "The Prioress [*i.e.* of the Nunnery of St. Mary Magdalen, Bristol] granted a long lease of this manor to *Thomas* Haines, Esq., who obtained a Reversion in Fee from Hen. viii." [it was granted to trustees for Haines, 36th Hen. viij]

Richard Haines died seized of Southmead, 20th Elizabeth, and livery was granted to Thos. H., son of Richard. The heir of the family sold it to Mr. Barker, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Knight."

[2] This is a mistake. His son's will shows that he was buried at Westbury.

Poyntz." [1] He was buried at the Gaunts' Church in Bristol. He died in 1604."

"Richard Haynes son of Thomas by [Mary] Pointz his 2nd wife married (1st) Margaret daughter of Edward Trotman of Cam. His 2nd wife was Mary daughter of William Capell of Bromyard in Herefordshire."[2]

"Thomas Haynes son of Richard & of Mary his 2nd wife [3] married Mary daughter of Henry Lambert of Chippenham."

"Richard Haynes Esq., who is the present [4] possessor, was son of Thomas. He married Ann daughter of Christopher Cole of Charleton in Henbury. He was High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 13th Wm. iii."[5]

[1] This statement is believed to be erroneous; and to have received correction at the hands of Richard Haynes, Esq., of Wick (High Sheriff in 1700), at the time of the appearance of the 1st edition of Sir R. Atkyns' History. The correction is believed to be extant to this day, noted in the copy of that history which was possessed by the then owner of Wick, but is now in the library of College, Cambridge. It stands thus: "Mary daughter of *Matthew Poin'z of Alderley*" [she was sister of Sir Nicholas Pointz of Alderley,] and her sister Elizabeth married John Chambers, of Tresham, in Hawkesley.]

This copy of Atkyns, with the corrections, was known to the late Mr. Richard Sims, of the MS. Department, British Museum, who sent a note of of it to my valued correspondent, A. M. Haines, Esq., Galena, Illinois, who communicated it to me (1884).

[2] The volume at Cambridge, before alluded to, has a correction by the same pen of this 2nd marriage thus: "His 2nd wife was Mary dau. of Edw. Capell of How Capell in Herefordshire."

[3] This Thomas Haynes was a wealthy tradesman, and carried on his business in the Parish of All Saints, Bristol. He first acquired some of the tenements held for lives under the Lord of the Manor of Wick et Abston, and eventually purchased the Lordship of the Manor. His will made 15th Nov., 1679, was proved 22nd March, 1681. This manor previously belonged to Glastonbury Abbey and then to the Winters.

[4] This expression really refers to 1712, the date of Atkyns' 1st edition, being allowed to remain in the 2nd edition or reprint of, 1768 it is decidedly misleading.

[5] This is the R. H., who, as is supposed, wrote the corrections in the copy of Atkyns now at Cambridge.

NOTES ON THE ARMS BORNE BY HAYNES OF WICK.

The Arms borne by Haynes of Wick call for remark, because, though used for more than a century-and-a-half as blazoned at the head of this Pedigree, they do not appear in any armoury to which I have had access. Neither do the Visitations of the County shew any pedigree of the Hayneses of Westbury or of Henbury, from the former of whom those of Wick immediately descend. No authority therefore for these arms can be derived from these sources. And yet the Hayneses were an influential family in the time of Sir Robert Atkyns, who treats both of them, and of their alliances with such families as those of Vele, Poyntz and Cole. It may be interesting now to state what we know of these Coats from any source whatever.

1st. Atkyns, in the plates of his County History, gives a coat for Haynes of Wick, but the heads of the heraldic creatures are so poorly executed that they might pass for three nags' heads. In the shield, however, which stands on the margin above Kip's view of the Haynes' seat at Wick, in the same history, we find for Haynes: *argent on a fesse gules three bezants, between as many demi hinds azure, impaling ermine in fesse a bull sable* for Cole [Richard Haynes, sheriff co. Gloucester, 1700 A.D., married Ann Cole of Henbury.]

2nd. Bigland, among his Monumental Inscriptions, records one to the memory of Mrs. Haynes [this is the above-named Ann, widow of Richard the sheriff] as extant in his day in Abston church, bearing arms: *impaled in a lozenge on a fesse gules, three roundles between as many demi hinds.*

Lastly. Naylor, in his Plates of Arms (p. 25) gives Haynes of *Henbury: argent on a* CHEVRON *gules, three bezants between as many demi hinds.* Here we have *chevron* substituted for *fesse*, a decided variation upon the blazon of Atkyns and Bigland.

Now in the face of these discrepancies by the Local Historians, and of a deficiency of authority from the Heralds, to what origin can be ascribed the arms used so long by Haynes of Wick? The only explanation which seems to me probable is that they are

derived from the coat of Heynes of Shropshire, but altered by some unaccountable error, which substituted *three demi hinds* for *three demi grey hounds*. In all other respects the coats agree. It is possible that the Haynes of Wick might trace their origin back to those of Shropshire. The alternation of the names Thomas and Richard from generation to generation in both pedigrees, (if the pedigree given in the Visitation of Shropshire be compared with that now set forth of Haynes of Westbury and Wick, co. Gloucester), somewhat favours this idea. But for my own part I have not attempted to prove their Shropshire origin. And if it were to be proved hereafter, such proof would sanction the use of the whole coat of Heynes of Shropshire with, perhaps, some mark of difference, but not the adoption of one part of it to the rejection of the other.

HAYNES OF WESTBURY.

Arms—*Argent on a Fesse gules three Bezants between three demi hounds' heads azure.*

I. Thomas Haynes lived at Westbury-on-Trym, co. Gloucester, *temp.* Hen. VII. 1486-1509. Buried there as may be seen in son's will.[1] = Agnes Wall, widow of John Wall, Esq., by whom the Heyneses acquired the Manor of Southmeade in Westbury.

II. Richard Heynes, of Westbury-on-Trym. Twice married. Died 6th Oct. 1583 æt. 74. Seized of the Manor of Southmeade. Had a stone inscribed to his memory in Westb. ch. Will extant (Lond. P.C.C. Bat. 29), made 31 Mar. 1580, in which he desires to be buried in his father's grave at Westbury. Proved 31 Mar. 1583, by Ed. Heynes, his son; one George Heynes *inter alios*, a witness. = 1st wife, dau. of William Veel (? of Tortworth), by Margaret, dau. of William Phetiplace, of Mardincot, and sister of Edward Veel, of Over, and of Wm. Veel, of Acton, gent.[2]
2nd wife, Isabel, . . . named in her husband's will, 1580.

III.

- Thomas, son & heir, of Westbury-on-Trym. Administ'rd to his bro' Edward's estate 30th July, 1586. Buried in Gaunt's ch., Bristol, 1604 = 1st, Joan Lardge. 2nd, (1580) Mary, da. of Matthew Poyntz, of Alderley.
- Edward, exor. of his father, jointly with sister Agnes. Died 1586, Intestate, admon. granted to bro. Edward. = Catherine, relict of . .
  - Edward, godson of Edward Haynes, of Persia, and styled "cousin" by Mary Haynes, of Timberscombe, 1644
  - Thomas, styled "cousin" as well as Edward in Mary Haynes' will, 1644, and being so named *next* after the mention of Edward, is supposed to have been his brother.[3]
- Charity.
- Agnes.

A

1 His burial in the Gaunt's Chapel, as stated by Sir Robert Atkyns, is an error—See the will of his son.

2 See Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. II. pp 16, 17.

3 Query if Edward and Thomas named in wills of Edward, of Persia, and Mary, of Timberscombe, should be one generation lower in descent from Edward qui ob. 1586—viz: grandsons through Edward.

A

Margaret, 1st w. dau. of Edward Trotman, of Cam, co. Gloucester.

IV. Richard, named in his brother Edward's will, 1632. Died 1665.

2nd wife Mary, dau. of Edward Capell of How-Capell, Ross, co. Hereford. Receiv'd legacy of £20 from her brother-in-law, Edw. H. 1632, and ring from her sister-in-law Mary, 1644.

Edward, in the Hon. E. I. Co.'s service, 1610, 1632-4 (see notes). Will made 6 June, 1632. Died in Persia, s.p. Will proved in London, 2nd Oct. 1634, by Mary Heynes, of Timberscombe, co. Som., his sister. In it are legacies to the poor of Westbury & Shirehampton, & at Gaunts, in St. Augustine.

Judith. Mary. Margaret. All legatees of their uncle Edward, 1632, as were also the son and four daur's of Richard by his 2nd wife.

V. Thomas, of the City of Bristol, in the parish of All Saints, grocer. Purchased the Manor of Wick & Abson, A.D. 1665. Will made 15 Nov. 1679. Proved 22 Mar. 1681-2.[1]

Mary, dau. of Henry Lambert, of Chippenham, Wilts. Born about 1630. Dd. 18 May, 1709 æt 80.[2]

Hawkesworth,[3] named in brother Thomas' will (1679)

Richard Haines, of Thornbury, Glouc.

VI. Richard, son & heir. Bn. abt. 1657. Lord of the Manor of Wick, Sheriff of co. Glouc. 1700. Died 15 June, 1726. Br. at Westbury-on-Trym, 68th year of his age.

Anne, da. of Christopher Cole, of Charlton, in Henbury.

Thos. Haines.[4] apprenticed to his father, 3 July, 1676. Entered St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, 1678. Bur.* 27 Feb. 1724.

Elizabeth, bapt.* 25 Sept. 1692. Bur. (in 'wollen') there 13 Nov. 1693.
Thomas, bapt.* 14 Aug. 1668. Bur.* 21 Jan. 1698-9.
Hannah, bapt.* 18 Oct. 1695. Bur.* 23 Aug. 1699.
Joseph, bap.* 5 Dec. 1703. Bur.* 1 May, 1704.
Richard. Bur.* 7 Feb. 1705.

Christopher, bapt.* 28 April, 1691. Died whilst studying at the Temple, London (F.M.)

VII. Thomas Haynes. Bapt.* 20 Feby. 1699. Executed a deed of Indenture 20 Jany. 1703, of Thomas Heynes, of Wick & Abson, yeoman Succeeded his father 1726. Living 1747. (child Elizabeth bap.* 1748.) Mentioned in Bigland in reference to family vault 1747. Died Dec. 1776.[5] Buried ? where.

Sarah, born about 1702, married before 1733. Died 12 Oct. Bur.* 15 Oct. 1788, aged 86 years.

* At Abson Church.

B

1 Left bequest to the poor of Wick and Abson, £20 given away in 1682.

2 According to M. I. at Abson, given in Bigland, but this was not seen by the writer in 1884. Query, is it now extant?

3 By the names Hawksworth and Millborough, given to daughters as christian names, this Richard Haines, and Mary his wife, seem to have been desirous of shewing at once on their Pedigree their family alliances. Peter Hawksworth would appear to have migrated from Yorkshire to Thornbury, co. Glouc., (but under what inducement we know not) and his 4th son Richard to have married a Haynes of that town, and hence the name "Hawksworth" came to stand as it does in the Pedigree of Haines of Westbury.

4 This is doubtless the Commoner of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, matriculated, Nov. 1678, aged 17 years (so born 1661), after 3 years went to Cambridge, and subsequently returned

5 *Gents' Magazine.*—Poem to his memory by W. O.

Margaret,[d] in her brother Edwd's will by name, 1632, and by sister Mary, 1644. = Peter Elsworthy,[1] of Timberscombe Dunster, co. Som. living 1646, exor. who proved Mary Haynes' will.
4 children living 1632.

Susan, named as wife of Wetherly in 1632, as Caro in 1644. = 1st, Wetherly 2nd, Geo. Caro (? a form of *Carew.*)[2] 5 Sep. 1646. Died unmar. Mentions a cousin Thomas & 'cousin' Edw. in her will

Mary, of Timberscombe, Som. exor. of brother Edward's Will, 1634. Her will made 17th Oct. 1644; proved

Anne = ...Stone (1679)

.....Millbrough = Smith. (1679)

James = received a legacy of £1000 under his father's will, was to be put to school at Chippenham; was of the City of Bristol in 1748, when his son Robert matriculatd at Oriel College, Oxford.

Mary. Hannah. Both named in their father's will for £2000, (1679.)

Robert Haines, born 1730, of Oriel College, Oxford. Matriculated 14 Mar. 174$\frac{7}{8}$, aged 18. B.C.L. 17 Dec. 1757. = Susannah, dau. of Richard Gibbs.[3] Born abt. 1734. Jane Gaisford, his wife, Died 8 Dec. 1812. She had a sister, Jane, who died unmarried, 1814, aged 82. So born about 1732.

Mary Elizabeth. Died unmarried 17 Dec. 1779.

Robert Haynes, Esq.[3] of Westbury, co. Wilts. = Vere, dau. of Zachary Bayley, Esq. of Bath. Mar. at Westbury, 28 Oct. 1807

Mary,[4] eldest dau. bapt* 14 January, 16$\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$; marr. Jefferies.[4]

Sarah,[4] bap* 27 Febry. 16$\frac{9}{7}\frac{6}{}$; mar. Rainstorp (arms)

Elizabeth[4] Haynes. = Thomas Trotman, of Wick, born 1686.

Samuel Trotman, patron of the Church of Siston.

to Bristol. Living 1683, and buried at Abson as "son of Thos. Haines Citizen of Bristol," 27th January, 1724. Was author of a poem, "The Triumph of Loyalty in the person of Charles II." London, 1683.

* At Abson Church.

1 *Richard* Elsworthy was benefactor to Timberscombe Parochial School, 1714, and to Cutcombe, 1729.

2 As to "Caro" family, see Ledger Stone on floor at west end of north aisle St. Mary Redcliff Church.

3 In Twerton Churchyard, on a flatstone near the Tower, is this Inscription: "Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of The Rev. Mr. HEYNES GIBBES of the Island of Barbadoes, formerly of Exeter College, Oxford, who departed this life at Bath, March 29th, 1795 aged 78."

See Pedigree of Gibbes, in Hoare's Modern Wiltshire, Vol. III. under Westbury, p.34.

In Hoare's South Wilts (see Gibbes' Pedigree) there is mention made that Susan Haynes, mother of Robert Haynes, Esq., purchased Brook Fulling Mill about 1788-92.

4 The portraits of these sisters Jefferies and Rainstorp (or drop) are among the family pictures at Downend, 1885.

B

VIII. Richard, bap.* 1737. Living 1791.[1] He was Last Lord of the Manor of Wick & Abson of this name. Dd. in 1816, or at least before 1818. Bur.* s.p.

= Christian, dau. of Wm. Russell, of Wickwar, by Jane his wife. Bapt. 24 Oct. 1740. Mar. by licence 15 June, 1779 (P.R.) Dd. aged 78, 1818. Bur.* as widow of Rich. Haines (mural tablet in church).

Ann, bap.* 20 Sept. 1738. Bur.* 24 Jany. 1738-9.

Thomas, major in the Royal Bristol volunteers, 1803. Bapt.* 6 Dec. 1739. Bur.* 3 Feb. 1814, aged 75.

Samuel, bapt.* 13 Nov. 1742. Buried there 6 Jan. 1747, in the church in fam. vault.[2]

Elizabeth, privately baptized 22 May, 1748.

IX. Richard, b. at Siston, 17 Dec. 1773. Bap. there 19 Jan. 1774, was of Downend at time of decease 27 Feb. 1846. Bur.* Mar. 6, 1846, aged 73

= Sarah Cornish, da. of Cornish, a solicitor. Died 10 Feb. 1837. Bur.* aged 73 years. (Tomb*)

Elizabeth, born at Frenchay, & bap. there 24 Nov. 1767. Numerous issue both of sons & daurs. She died 1884, and is bur. at Weston-super-Mare.

= Thomas Hooper, of Bristol.

Ann, born 3 Jan. 1767. Bap. at Stapleton, 4 Feb. 1769. Died of decline. Buried at Siston. (led. stone).

= John Russ, jun. Esq., of Clifton, had issue one dau. who mar. her cousin Richard Haynes (see below) Dd 7 Dec. 1798, aged 29, M.I. at Siston, where she was bur.

Elizabeth Sarah, eldest dau., died at Downend, co. Glouc. 15 Nov. Bur. at Abson, 24 Nov. 1853, aged 54. M.I. on tomb in Abson ch-yard.

Rebecca, died 16 Jan. 1875, aged 32 years.

1824

Ann, mar.* 6 Ap. 1824. Died 11 April, 1838, aged 38 years (so born abt. 1800) Bur. in London

= John Mintorn son of John.

Thomas William Haynes. Died 22 Nov. 1849, aged 45 yrs. (so born abt. 1800) Bur. in London

1835

Ann Russ, (1st wife) only child of her parents, and her husband's 1st cousin. Aug. 6, 1835. Died in Nov. 1871. Bur.* 21 Nov. aged 73.

= X. Richard. Born 27 Dec. 1800 Solicitor of Lond. Living at Downend Jany. 1st 1885.

1875

= 2nd wife, Alice Woollery, dau. of Thomas Ellis Adlington, Esq., of Bedford Row, one of the Registrars of the H. Court of Chancery, by Wilhelmina Stone Woollery (West Indian family), his wife. Bapt. at St. Pancras Ch., London, in 1837. Mar. at Surbiton, 1875. Living 1885.

Margaret Christina Adlington Haynes Haynes. Born 11 March, 1877, and bapt. at Surbiton, 21 Jan. 1880. Living 1855.

* At Abson Church.

1 See Bigland, folio edition, Vol. I. p. 8, where the coalpit and iron works are spoken of as then at work.

2 This is probably the vault to which Bigland alludes as "disposed" in 1747. See also before under Thomas Haines.

Christopher Haynes, clerk, Rector of Siston. Born at Wick 31 May, 1741. Bap.*29 July, following, then 8 weeks old. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A, 1762, and took his M.A. degree 14 Dec. 1765. Curate of Mangotsfield, 1767. Rector of Siston for 31 years. Domestic chaplain to the D. of Beaufort, 1803 Died suddenly at Lower Easton, Bristol, 22 Feb. 1806. Buried at Siston. See memorial stone on floor of chancel and *Gents' Magazine*.

= Ann, dau. of William and Rebecca Lennott, of Mangotsfield, where she was bapt. 18 April 1749. Died 8 Dec. 1843. (Fam. mem[a] in bible of Rev. Chris. Haynes her husband.

Joseph, bapt.* 20 April, 1774, afterwards in the navy. Died at Stapleton about 1814.

= Phillipa, dau. of Richard, and sister of Henry Shute, of Frampton Cotterel.

Rebecca, born at Siston, 14 Dec. 1775. Bapt. there, 22 Feb. 1776. Bur. there, having died 3 March 1833. Married at Mangotsfield Rev. J. Jenner Hogg, of Painswick. ↓

Mary, 4th daur., born 15 March, and bapt. at Mangotsfield, 14 April, 1772. Dd. 11 May, 1788, aged 16 & lies bur. at Siston.

Christian, born at Siston, 17 June. Bap. there 8 July, 1781. Died 11 June, 1861, at Downend, unmarried.

Philippa, born at Siston, 25 Oct. 1782. Bapt. there 10 Jan. 1783. Dd. 12 Feb. 1863. Bur. at Downend unmarried.

Sarah, born at Mangotsfield, 14 Sept. 1770. Bapt. there 15 Oct. Died 22 Feb. 1793. Bur. in Siston church.

Joseph Haines, only child. Bapt* 3 August, 1781, Steward to the Marquis Thomond in Ireland, where he married, but died without issue.

= . . . . . who survived her husband, and died 1878, aged 90.

* At Abson Church.

NOTES ON THE HAYNES' PEDIGREE.

Thomas Haynes.

Anthony Wood speaks of a Thomas Haynes "Son of a Father of both his names" as "born in the City of Bristol," who "became a Commoner of St. Edmund-Hall, under the Tuition of Mr. Ric[d] Blackmore in the month of Nov[r] 1678 aged 17 years, whence, after he had spent about 3 years, he went to Cambridge: and thence to his native place where he is esteemed a person of Good parts, but atheistical. He hath written "The Triumph of loyalty in the Person of King Charles II." a poem. London, 1683. Esteemed by some persons a heavy dull thing."

The age of this Thomas Haynes would answer for Thomas, son of Thomas, the purchaser of Wick; as his matriculation entry at Oxford shews he must have been born in 1661. Assuming this identification to be correct, Mary (Lambert) Haynes would be his mother when 32 years of age, as she was aged 80 at her death in 1709.

SOME HAYNES' WILLS SUPPORTING THE PEDIGREE AS SHEWN IN TABLE.

I. Summary of the will of

RICHARD HEYNES, of Westbyrye-upon-Tryme, Co. Glou: yeoman. Dated 31st Mch 1580

Proved in P.C.C. 31st Mch 1583 by Edward & Agnes Heynes Ex[rs] (Batt 29)

To be buried in the Church of Westbyrye *in my Father's* grave.[1]

To the poor box 10/. To 12 poor men of Westbury. To my wife Isabell. To my daughter *Charitye;* my Manor House of Southmeade & Lands; my son Edward; my daughter *Agnes;* my servant Henry Smythe; my son Thomas Heynes shall be my heir. To my daũr Charitie £10. To my daughter Catherine Mors £3. My other servants. Residue to son Edward and daũr Agnes and make them exors.

[1] This disposes of Atkyns' statements that Thomas Heynes was buried in Gaunt's Church, Bristol. Indeed there would seem no reason why a Heynes should be there buried until they were allied to Poyntz.

"I will that my last Will and Testament shall be faire-written in parchment and sealed uppon with a label pendant, and after Provinge thereof, to be layed in the Tower of Westbyrye aforesaid or else in some other safe Keepinge to be seene at all tymes when neede shalbe."

My beloved brother-in-law Mr. William Vele of Acton [Iron Acton], gent., John Hyatt, *George Heynes*, and Anthony Peyton, overseers.

Witnesses John Bantinge, *Curate*
Thomas Goodman, James Busshel,
Robert Bicke and others.

II. Summary of the will of

Thomas Haines of Bristol 1679-81—Prob. Court London (Cottle 33) Dated 15 Nov. 1679. Proved Mch $168\frac{1}{2}$.

In the name of God, amen &c I Thomas Haines of the City of Bristoll, Grocer &c

All my messuages, Lands &c in Week, Abson, & Doynton, Gloucestershire, to my *son Richard* for life with remainder to his first son and each succeeding nine sons, and for want of such issue to the daughters of said Richard, and in default to *son Thomas* & his 10 sons successively, & in default to the daũrs of s^{d} Thomas, and in default to *son James* [with similar limitations] and in default to my daughters *Mary & Hannah.*

To *son Thomas* £3000 to be laid out in the purchase of lands.

To *son James* at 21 the House I dwell in, in the Parish of all Saints Bristol, together with 4 acres of land in Barton Regis, Gloucestershire.

To *Wife Mary* [Lambert] £600 in recompense for her Dower and also £50.

To son James £1000. To my daũrs Mary & Hannah Haines £2000 each. My sonne James shalbe put to School to Mr. Flowers of Chippenham to learne the Lattin tongue & arithmetick according to his capacity, & be bounde an apprentice to some convenient trade & profession.

Daughter Hannah to be placed at school.

To *sister Hawkesworth* wife of Richard Haines of Thornbury Gloucestershire £10. To *sister Ann Stone* £10. To *sister Milborough Smith* £50. To Poor of Thornbury, and of Week & Abson £20 each. Residue to *son Richard.*

Signed Tho. Haynes.

Overseers Th^{os} Gouldney Grocer, and Thomas Speed of Bristol Merchant.

III. A Copy of the Will of EDWARD HAINES, of Persia. Dated 6 June 1632. Proved 2 Octr 1634, by Mary Heynes *extrix.*—P.C.C. (Seager 93.)

In the name of God Amen I *Edward Heynes* being in perfect health and Memory doe bequeath my soule to God my Lord my Saviour and Redeemer who at first gave it to me and my body to earth from whence it proceeded and lastly my worldly goodes in manner followinge. I give and bequeath to my Sister *Mary Haines* as a legacy One hundred pounds sterling to be payed her out of my estate.

Item.—I give and bequeath to my sister *Margaret Elsworthy,* One hundred pounds sterling of current English Money as a legacy out of my estate.

Item.—I give and bequeath to my sister *Susan Wetherley* One hundred pounds sterling of current English money as a legacy out of my estate as aforesaid. Fifty pounds current English money *unto each* of my *brother Richard Haines' daughters* begotten of *his first wife* the daughter of *Mr. Edward Trottman,* to say Fifty Pounds to *Judith Haines,* Fifty Pounds to *Mary Haines* and Fifty pounds to *Margaret Haines* and in case of the death of either of them before the date hereof, then the Survivor to receive the portion of her or them soe deceased as before mentioned.

Item.—I give and bequeath out of my estate as aforesaid unto my *brother Richard Heynes* his *five* children begotten of *his second wife* One hundred and thirty Pounds current English Money, that is to say to his *sonne* Thirty Pounds and to his *fower daughters*

Twenty-five Pounds a piece and in case of Mortality of either of them, the survivor to receive their portions of the legacy soe deceased.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto the *mother* of the said five children my sister in law Twenty Pounds current English money as her legacy but in case of her decease then the said Twenty Pounds to be divided by equall portions amongst her said five children.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my *sister Elsworthy's children being fouer*, One hundred Pounds, namely Twenty five pounds a peece current English money, the survivors to enjoy the portion or portions of him or them deceased.

Item —I give to the poore of the parish of *Westbury* Twenty pounds sterling.

Item.—I give to the poore of *Shirhampton* Five Pounds sterling.

Item.—I give to the Poore of y^e^ *Gaunts in St. Augustines* by Bristoll Ten Pounds sterling.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my *Godson Edward Haynes* in the keeping of Mr *John Woolhouse* Fifty Pounds sterlinge and case of his death then I give it to my wel beloved friend *Mrs. Avis Hungerford.*

Item.—I give and bequeath to the aforesaid *Mr. John Woolhouse* and to his wife Ten pounds sterling, to say, Five pounds to each of them as a token of remembrance of their friende deceased.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto my boy *George Hungerford.*[1] out of my estate there in Persia, one hundred Pounds and all my plate found at my decease and doe desire my overseers to dispose of him for England to be delivered to *his mother Mrs. Avis Hungerford* or to *his grandfather Sir George Ivye in Bristoll* or otherwise to his next of Kindred for his better breeding.

Item.—I give and bequeath unto *his mother Mrs. Avis Hungerford* fiftie pounds starlinge, a dyamond ring in gould value ten pounds in remembrance of me, her friende deceased.

[1] George Hungerford. This boy, in the English factory in Persia, was 2nd son of Fulke Hungerford of Hawkeston, Wilts, by Avis, daughter of Sir George Ivy, Knt., of West Kington.

Item.—I give unto *Henry Monox* five pounds sterling in remembrance.

Item.—I give unto *Mr. Carpenter fife* pounds sterling in remembrance.

Item.—I give unto *Nicho: Gore* Ten pounds as a token of remembrance.

Item.—I give *Sutler* our linguist two touranndes. [Persian gold coin.]

Item.—I give to *Shunoloe* our linguist three touranndes.

Item.—I give to *Petrus* two touranndes.

Item.—I give *Terridere* two touranndes.

Item.—I give and bequeath to my approved loving friends Mr. *William Gibson* and Mr. *Richard Cooper* (whome I desire and appointe my overseers to see the execution of my estate and *Will* for what shall properly belong unto me in Persia) fifteene touranndes, to say ten touranndes to Mr. Gibson and five touranndes to Mr. *Cooper* as tokens and remembrance of their friend deceased.

Item.—I desire all the best of my English apparall to be sent into England to my Executors thereof to be given amongst the English the Company's Servants remayning in this factory.

Item.—I desire that all my shashes, girdles, shales, swords, Ballapoos [overcoats], Curdee Vests [Kurdish vests], and Usbeq Coates may be sold to most advantage and the proceeds brought to my accompt. The rest as Cabayes [vests], Arcoloes [? saddles or palliassses], and the like given to the Servants of the howse at discrecon of my overseers.

Item.—I desire that all goodes and moneyes properly belonging unto my estate may be made sale of to most advantage exceptinge *Jewells* which I would might be sealed safely in some box and sent to my Executors in England in its oune quality, the proceeds of all else to be payed into the Company's Cash in this factory for the use of my executors and a just inventory and an accompt sent them of all my estate in these parts according the Company's orders.

I doe further order and appoynt by virtue of this my last Will and testament my *Sister Mary Haynes* whole and sole

Executrix of this my last Will and do hereby invest her with all my estate as well that due to me by the Company in England by way of my Salary as also all else in these parts Persia India or otherwise in England to enjoy as her owne to her and her heires for ever.

Provided that all debtes and legacies be first payed and thereof the neate reste to be hers as aforesayd. But in case of her death then in her stead and place I do by vertue hereof institute and appoynte my well beloved *sisters Margarett Elsworthy* and *Susan Wetherley* joyntly my whole executrixes to receive and enjoy all my estate as aforesaid and in case of their death then to their children and next of kindred.

Lastly I doe desire and appoynte as my overseer to see a due execution and punctual performance of this my last Will in England my loving *brother in law Peter Elsworthy* and my loving friend *Mr. Thomas Walter* and in hope of their ready acceptance thereof and care therein.

I doe give and bequeath unto each of them Ten pounds current English Money to be paid them out of my estate by my Executors as legacyes bequeathed unto them.

Thus desiring God to receive us to his Mercy and give us a joyfull resurrection to the fruition of his presence where with the whole Company of Angells we may sing Hallaluja to the blessed Trinity for ever. Amen.

Ed. Heynes.

Sealed Subscribed and delivered in the presence of us.

Wil. Gibson John Shirland
Richard Cooper Wm. Fulli.

Postscript. I doe acknowledge that the contents above written was and is my Will and last testament and am resolved at this present that it and all the contents thereof shall stand firm and irrevokable unles I shall hereafter finde cause to alter it or any parte thereof.

In witness whereof I have put to my hand and Seale this Sixth day of June An. 1632.

Per me Ed. Heynes[1]

Sealed Subscribed and delivered in the presence of us } William Goare
George Cullin. *Minister.*

IV. Summary of the Will of
Mary Haynes of Timberscombe, Som^{t} 1644-46—singlewoman.
(P.C.C. London. Twisse 122.)

Will dated 17th Oct. 1544. Proved 5 Sept. 1646

To Sisters Margaret Elsworthy, and Susan Caro, best ring &c. & Persian Carpet.

To Cousins Alexander Caro & John Norrice 40^{s}/ each for rings Anthony Elsworthy £30. Edward & Thomas Elsworthy £10 each. Alice Elsworthy £40.

To sister Mary Haynes [2nd wife of her Bro. Richard] a ring

To Cousin Thomas Haynes £10.

To Cousin Edward Haynes £50 and there is a sword or Jewell which the King of Persia gave to his Father remayning in the E. I. C$^{o's}$ hands which they gave me (it is valued at a hundred pounds). I do here give him the benefit of it. All legacies to be paid out of land at Cutcombe.

Signed Mary Haynes.

Proved by Peter Elsworthy.

MEMORIAL INSCRIPTIONS RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF HAYNES OF WESTBURY AND WILTS.

An Inscription to the Memory of Richard Heins, which, according to Bigland's Gloucestershire, was formerly in the South Aisle of the Church at Westbury-upon- Trym, on a flat stone.[2]

[1] On Probate Act Book this Edward Heynes is described as late "of parts beyond the Sea," gentleman.

[2] Atkyns, Glouc. 2nd edition, p. 422, speaks not only of this inscribed stone to Richard Heines, but also of an old stone statue to Dr. Heynes, Dean of the College of Westbury. These are no longer visible in Westbury Church, 1884.

" Loe here the Corps of Richard Heins
Not dead but leyed to Rest
Untill the Lord shall Call from Grave
The Bad and eke the Best :
Amongst which number of Elect
He, Certes, hath a part
Because he always hop'd thereon
And that through Christ's deserte.
His Lyffe did shew forth Fruites of Faith,
His wordes deserv'd no blame.
He loved God and neighbours both ;
His deedes confirmed the same,
Four sons, six daughters,[1] he brought forth
By Dorothy Veel[2] his wyffe,
God gave to him on earth his grace
In fyne immortal lyffe "

Obiit 6th October Anº Domi 1583
Ætatis suæ 74.

Inscription to the memory of Thomas Haines, son of the foregoing Richard.

" Here lieth the Body of | Thomas Haines, Gent | who deceased the 23rd day of April | in the year of our Lord 1604."

In the middle of the same stone :

Memoriæ æternæ, viri optimi, | Patris sui colendissimi | Thomæ Hainsii Generosi pietatis ergo posuit Ricardus Hainsius, filius.

Chare Pater, tua Sancta Fides, tua Maxima Virtus
As[se]ruit cælo teque animamque tuam :
Corpus et in tumulo [positum, et] mea circa Parentem
Ad tua juncta piis ossibus ossa cubent.[3]

In the Canynge Chapel, Westbury-on-Trym, on the floor, is a Ledger-stone, inscribed thus :—

Hic jacet Corpus
[RI]CARDI HAYNES DE WYCK ET ABSON
In Comitatu Glocestriæ
Armigeri qui obiit Morti xv Die
Junii. Anno { Dom MDCCXXVII / Ætats LXVIIII }

1 It is to be observed that the above inscription distinctly states that Richard Heines had four sons and six daughters, whereas his Will contains the names of only two sons and three daughters.

2 *Veel*, see history of this family in "The Lives of the Berkeleys, Vol. I., pp. 16, 17.

3 This inscription is given in Bigland, but the writer of this Paper has taken the liberty of bringing together the severed portions of it and making the Latin couplets read and scan He has inserted *Asseruit* before Cælo in the first pentameter, and added *positum et* in the second hexameter, and written Paren*'em* for Paren*tum* to accord with "tua."

From the *Gloucester Mercury*, June 9th, 1877, Vol. XXIII., No. 1141

IN HENBURY CHURCH IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE—

"Here lyeth the body of CHRISTOPHER COLE, of Charleton, Esq[r].; who deceased the XIth day of May, Anno Dom. MDCLXXXXIX aged LXXVI. years. He had vi. Children Christopher, Charles, Mary, Bridget, Anne and Elizabeth, of whom ANNE is the alone survivor, married to RICHARD HAINS,[1] of Abson in this County, Esq."

"He was exquisitely versed in our Laws and Constitutions exerting his Knowledge to the hon[r] of his Prince and Benefit of his Country no less studious of Right and Equity than skilful in distributing Justice nor regarding his private so much as the publick good whereby he discharged the office of a true Justiciar."

"He was devout towards God and remarkable among men for an antient Freedom & Integrity of mind, protecting the innocent and punishing and repressing the Injurious; acting by persuasion and Mildness rather than by Extremity and force, Composing differences and promoting peace whereby he discharged the duty of a true Christian."

A flat stone in Siston Church (1884) co. Gloucester, bears the following inscription :—

Hic lapis ponderosus
tenues tuetur reliquias Mariæ filiæ quartæ
Christopheri et Annæ Haynes, quæ
repentinâ obiit tabe, die Maii undecimo 1788
Sexdecim annos nata.

Sarah Haynes died Feby 22nd 1793 aged 22 years
Mrs. Ann Russ died Dec[r] 7. 1798 aged 29 years
Mrs. Ann James [2] died Feby 20. 1801 aged 83
The Revd Christopher Haynes 30 years Rector of
this Parish died Feby 22, 1806, aged 63 years. [3]

NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF CARO, OF BRISTOL,[4] ALLIED TO HAYNES.[5]

From Ledger Stones on the floor of the Chapel of West End of North Aisle of St Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol.

"Here lyeth the Remains of GEORGE CARO Senior of this Parish Gent, who died March y[e] 20 Anno 1662 aged 61.

(Some doggerel verses follow.)

1 This Richard is the son of Thomas Haines who purchased Wick; he has a ledger stone in the south aisle of Westbury Church, dated 1726.

2 She was a friend of the family who often stayed at Siston, and dying there was buried among her friends. [This information from Richard Haynes, Esq., of Downend, 1st January, 1885.

3 He was nearly 65, being born in June, 1741: see Pedigree.

4 By the Will of Mary Haynes of Timberscombe (1644) it is seen that her sister Susan married George Caro, and that Alexander Caro is styled "Cousin."

5 By the Burgess Rolls of the City of Bristol, an "Alexander Caro" was admitted to Freedom. For that he was the son of William Caro, Freeman, 16th June, 1656.

Also here lyeth the Body of ALEXANDER[1] the Son of George Caro of this Parish Gent who died July the 17th 1671 aged 38 years.

Also here lyeth ye Body of MARY the wife of William James of this P'ish Gent ye only Daughter of George Caro, Gent with 5 Children, who died in the Lord October ye 12th Anno 1676. aged 39 years.

Also here lyeth the Body of GEORGE, Son of Geo Caro Gent, who died March the 10th Ano 1689, aged 56 years.

On a tomb seen by Bigland at Abson (1791) :—

(Surmounted by Arms, but then partly obliterated.)

"Here lyeth the body of MRS. MARY HAYNES, The widdow & Relict of Mr. Thomas Haynes of the City of Bristol, Lord of this Manor, who deceased the xviij day of May, A.D., MDCCIX aged LXXX years."

"This burial place of the Family of Thomas Haynes and Sarah his wife, was thus disposed 1747."[2]

"Remembering that in the Midst of Life we are in Death."

Copy of Haynes' Inscriptions from Abson, co. Glouc., by the writer, on a tablet of marble attached to the north wall:—

"Sacred to the Memory of
MRS. CHRISTIAN HAYNES, widow of
Richard Haynes Esqr Lord of the Manor of this Parish,
Who happily departed this life 16th May 1818."

"The memory of the just is blessed."

"Deeds of Mercy, deeds unknown
Will Eternity Record
Which she durst not Call her own
For she did them to the Lord."

On a raised Tomb in the churchyard, surrounded by rails :—

(Inscription on South Side.)

"Elizabeth Sarah daūr of Richard & Sarah Haynes died 15 Nov. 1852, aged 54 years."

"Rebecca Haynes daūr of Richard & Sarah Haynes died 16 Jany. 1875, aged 72 years."

(On East Side)

"Ann daūr of Richard & Sarah Haynes wife of John Mintorn died 11 April 1838. aged 38 years."

1 John Caro is named in the Will of John Draper, of Bristol, 27th January, 1578 (Orphan Book) as having a Tenement on St. Michael's Hill.

2 The meaning of Bigland in this observation is not clear. Thomas Haines, who married Sarah, was grandson of Mary (1709). We presume the "disposing" of the tomb was ome new arrangement of the family vault in 1747; at that date Samuel, son of Thomas and Sarah, was interred.

"Thomas William, son of Richard & Sarah Haynes died 22 Nov. 1849, aged 45 years." (Both buried in London.)

(On North Side)

"Ann daūr of John Russ of Clifton Esqr and wife of Richard Haynes died 26th Nov. 1871, aged 73 years."

On West Side

"Sarah wife of Richard Haynes died 10th Feby. 1837. aged 73 years."

"Richard Haynes died 28th Feby. 1846 aged 73."

(Both buried in the Church.)

Obituary Notice of THOMAS HAYNES, Esq., of Wick—

"On the justly-lamented Death of THOMAS HAYNES, Esq. of Wick, in the County of Gloucester, late one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County."

"Addressed to his Son, my much-respected Friend, RICHARD HAYNES, Esq., of Wick aforesaid, by his humble Servant

W. O.

When warriors die, a thousand tongues can tell
How well they fought, and how lamented fell !
When Haynes expires, a thousand tongues declare
His life how useful ! and his worth how rare !
When to his righteous bar the sons of Pride
Contentions came, their quarrels to decide,
No froun terrific sour'd his placid brow,
But meek-ey'd Patience search'd the *Why* and *How* ;
While just corrections issu'd from his tongue,
No bitter taunts the culprit's bosom wrung :
While Justice reign'd, the sov'reign of his heart,
Indulgent Mercy bore the leading part ;
With candid care he try'd the clam'rous cause,
And peace restor'd, consistent with the laws.
His public merits let the world proclaim,
Peace all his wish, and Justice all his aim ;
Obliging, courteous, candid, and sincere,
Of mind sagacious, and in judgment clear ;
Grace in deportment ; mod'rate in debate,
His presence chear'd the bench where Justice sate.
His private virtues let his house declare,
Truth, honour, goodness, piety, were there :
Love, kindness, friendship, and affections mild,
Endear'd him to the wife, the friend, the child.
His life was form'd upon the Christian plan,
Devout to God, benevolent to man ;
Vice he oppos'd with unremitting strife,
May heav'n reward him with eternal life !
Peace to his honour'd dust ! and peace attend

Each mourning relative, and weeping friend ;
He leaves the world in venerable age,
And with abundant honour quits the stage.
We bow submissive to the stroke of Fate,
And learn the lesson (often learnt too late),
That GOODNESS only makes us truly GREAT.

To you whose manly virtues we admire,
The worthy Son of your respected Sire,
The Muse, as Friendship bids, in duty pays
Her humble mite of well deserved praise,
Glad that our views the pleasing hopes afford
To see the FATHER in the son restor'd.

MARSHFIELD, Dec. 10th, 1776.

[*From Poetical Essays for December, 1776, in Gentleman's Magazine, p. 571.*]

CIRENCESTER:
THE MANOR AND THE TOWN.

BY THE REV. E. A. FULLER, M.A.

AT the Meeting of the Society at Cirencester in 1877 I gave an address concerning the relations between the manor and the town, condensing into it the results of some research into old records, many of which had, till then, not been made use of for such purpose. The more technical portion of the matter then touched upon I expanded in a paper, concerning the Tenures of Land in the Manor of Cirencester, which was printed in the Transactions for that year. I propose now to tell the story of the controversies concerning liberties, between the townsmen and the Lord of the Manor, during a period of about 440 years, from 1155 to 1595; merely referring incidentally to matters already explained, and discussed in my previous paper.

The manor, originally Royal Demesne, had been granted by the Conqueror to William Fitzosbern as part of the Earldom of Hereford; but it soon reverted to the Crown through the rebellion of William's son, Roger. The Canons of the Abbey first obtained the manor, on lease, from Henry II., early in his reign, and so held it during the greater part of his life.[1] As soon, however as Richard I. came to the throne, a charter was obtained granting the town in perpetuity. Benedict, the chronicler of Peterborough, tells us[2] that Richard was ready to sell anything, powers, dominions, earldoms, sheriffdoms, castles, towns, farms, and such like; and, not content with dealing with what was his own, he was quite ready to sell anyone else's property as well. He wanted money for the Crusade. To this needy King went Abbot Richard in the first few months of his reign, and for £100

[1] Cirencester Abb. Reg. A., 21b. and 88a.; Pipe Rolls, 2 Henry II., and 33 Hen. II.

[2] Bened. Abb. ii., 90.

he purchased[1] the town and manor, with Minety, which was a part of the manor, and the Seven Hundreds,[2] which were appendant to the manor, with all possible rights over life, and limb, and labour, and goods, described in terms, some of which are past modern explanation.[3] For this he arranged to pay a fee-farm rent of £30 a year. To King John, in his fifth year, the same abbot paid another £100, and promised a palfrey[4] for the privilege of keeping the sheriff from entering his liberties, except for pleas of the Crown: all summonses from the Exchequer the

[1] Cart. Antiq. Rich. I., S. 12. Cir. Abb. Reg., A., 16 a, B. No. 415.

[2] After the period of the Domesday Survey, certain changes took place in the nomenclature and arrangement of the hundreds. The name of Gersdon attaches in Domesday to a hundred eastward from Cirencester, containing the Amneys, Maysey Hampton, Harnhill, Driffield, and South Cerney. In the earlier time, too, the Hundred of Cirencester is counted as including several villages round about the town. Later on the name of Gersdon disappears, and the hundred is united with the country portion of the Cirencester Hundred under the name of Crowthorne. In strict definition the town of Cirencester, *i.e.*, the present town from the top of Gloucester Street to the bottom of Cricklade Street—excluding, therefore, the Chesterton and Spyringate tithings—as being a manor of ancient demesne of the Crown, was always a jurisdiction, separate from the adjacent hundred, with its own view of Frankpledge; and so in the Assize Rolls of Henry III., the town of Cirencester, as one of the Seven Hundreds, sends a separate jury of twelve men to Gloucester, though the neighbouring villages are spoken of as in Cirencester Hundred. I am not aware of an earlier mention of Crowthorne as the name of a hundred than 1327, when in the Subsidy Roll for that year all the hamlets, including Wigwold and Chesterton and the villages round Cirencester, are returned as in the Hundred of Crowthorne. But the place, Crowthorne, is named as well known in a deed which, from the witnesses' names, is of about the year 1275 (Register of Cirencester Lady Chapel; Bodleian, Dugdale MS. 42, f. 12 a). In all probability the name, Crowthorne, always attached in common parlance to the country portion of the Hundred of Cirencester, though it was not till days of exacter legal definition, that the name of Cirencester was exclusively reserved for the town itself as a separate hundred. The Seven Hundreds are Cirencester, Crowthorne, Longtree, Bisley, Rapsgate, Bradley, and Brightwell's Barrow.

[3] Many of the ancient English terms became obsolete some hundreds of years ago. When Richard II., in 1390, confirmed the Charter of Richard I., granting the manor to the abbey, in reciting the terms by which the various rights and privileges were conveyed, "because the said words are antient and difficult," it was thought good to explain some of them. Thus, for '*flemensfirth*, the equivalent is given of *catalla furum*, *i.e.*, the chattels of felons.—Cart. 14 Rich. II., 9.

[4] Cart. 5 John, 2; Pipe Roll, 6 John.

sheriff was simply to deliver to the abbot, who would collect the dues, and make his own return to the Exchequer. In 6 Henry III.[1] the abbot obtained permission to build a gaol.

The abbots thus had the town pretty well under their power. They had the benefit of the tenants' labour in tilling their demesne land, and getting in their crops; they had the profit of grinding all the tenants' corn, besides the other ordinary manorial dues. The regular weekly market[2] went with the manor, by the grant of Richard I.; from King John, Abbot Alexander Nequam obtained, in 1215, a charter[3] for an eight days' fair at the feast of All Saints; and another charter for a similar fair, at the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, was obtained by Abbot Roger of Rodmarton from Henry III. in 1253.[4] Thus the trade of the town was under their control. The whole detail of taxation was also in their hands under King John's Charter; and as in 16 John,[4] it was settled by the barons of the Exchequer that the abbots had quittance of tallage for their demesne, all tallages levied went into the abbey revenues, and ceased to be paid to the Exchequer. Then the manorial courts, where the abbot's officers were judges, were the courts of first instance, in which all local questions of tenure, and debt, and distraint, were tried. There were pillory and ducking-stool for offenders against town police; there were gaol and gallows for greater criminals, when any men belonging to the abbot's manor, or jurisdiction, were condemned by the King's justices; and these the abbots were ready to lend to the King, or to their friends. Thus, when Eleanor, the unfortunate sister of Prince Arthur, who spent her life in captivity at the hand of her cousin Henry III., was confined temporarily at Gloucester, the Abbot of

[1] Close Roll, 6 Hen. III., m. 13.

[2] The regular weekly market in early days was held on Sunday, commencing at three o'clock, and continuing on through Monday. Jocelyn de Brakelonde (Chronicon f. 98) says: "that in 1201, Eustace, Abbot of St. Germer de Flaix, came to Bury St. Edmund's and preached down Sunday Markets." He adds that the abbot was equally successful in other towns. His efforts had not affected Cirencester by 1236 (Reg. Abb. Cir. A., 69 b.) and I have found no note of the time when the Sunday Markets were discontinued there.

[3] Cart. 17 John, 4.

[4] Cart. 37 Hen. III., 10.

[4] Pipe Roll, 16 John. Cir. Abb. Reg. A, 17 b.

Cirencester took charge of the King's prisoners from Gloucester Castle.[1] Lords of manors were wont thus to accommodate each other with pit and gallows if necessary; and they, who held only one small manor in a neighbourhood, did not maintain a gallows of their own, but borrowed the use of those belonging to greater lords, asserting in this way their right to hang the men of their own manor, if such right were contained in their charter. The Abbot of Pershore used thus to borrow the Cirencester gallows if there was a Cowley man to be hung.[2] The Abbot of Tewkesbury had once a dispute with the Earl of Gloucester about criminal jurisdiction in his manors in Somersetshire. So hearing that one of his own men had been arrested, he posted off, bustled about, got the man tried at once, borrowed a neighbour's gallows, and had the man hung before the Earl knew anything about it.[3] There was small thought for the arrested man's rights, but great zeal for the lord's rights; for there was something to be got out of hanging your own men, as a lord, who had criminal jurisdiction, claimed the felon's goods, and it did not do to be careless about your rights if you wanted to maintain them. The bailiffs of the Abbot of Peterborough went to Nottingham to the assizes one day toward the end of the thirteenth century, when a man from one of the abbot's manors was condemned and given over to them to be hung. It was getting late in the day, the nearest gallows belonging to the abbot was a long way off, so they borrowed the use of the King's gallows at Nottingham, and having hung their man went home contented, for they had proved the right of the abbot to the chattels of the felon.[4] This right was sometimes, when felonies were plentiful and judges severe, a profitable one; in 1285, the Abbot of Peterborough proved his right at the assizes to retain £40 from the goods of felons, and outlaws, and fugitives, belonging to three hundreds, including Peterborough.[5] That may have been an exceptional year, or the record may refer to goods forfeited during more than one year: the only detail,

[1] Close Roll, 7 Hen. III., m. 12.

[2] Quo Warranto Rolls, 15 Edw. III., f. 200.

[3] Annal. Monast. I., 140—4.

[4] Reg. Petrob. f. 41, Camden Soc.

[5] Reg. Petrob. f. 119, Camden Soc.

which I have found with regard to Cirencester, is for a small sum as compared with that, £5 a year in the reign of Edward VI.[1] But whatever it produced it was a right worth preserving; and the abbots had constantly to be on the watch in their hundreds. At one time it was Elias Gifford who put them to legal expense by erecting a gallows and hanging his men at home, at Brimpsfield, instead of bringing them into Cirencester for ordeal and execution;[2] now it was the King's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who claimed gallows in his Manor of Lechlade;[3] and more than once, in after days, the Crown officers coveted the profits, whatever they were, and the abbots were made to answer pleas in the exchequer,[4] which had a tendency to drag on for year after year. But the abbots never let go their hold on this right, or any other right, however much they might find it necessary, in a critical period, to bow their heads to a storm, and give way for a time. So much for the lord of the manor—the abbot.

Now for the townsmen, the tenants on the manor.

From those inquisitions, printed in the Transactions for 1877, it appears that the tenure was in villeinage.[5] Farm labour, of some kind, was the main condition of tenure originally, the cultivation of the lord's land being carried out by the tenants, or by the men provided at the cost of the tenants, according as the tenants were personally free or otherwise.

There are three descriptions of the manor printed in my previous paper, representing the services due at the end of the eleventh, at the end of the twelfth, and at the commencement of the fourteenth centuries; and, in each successive description, we find a commutation of labour service for a money-rent, the rent increasing in amount as the commutation became more complete. By the middle of the sixteenth century all labour services have ceased, and the money-rent has increased again rather more than

[1] Particulars for Grants, 6 Edward VI.—Anthony Kyngston.

[2] Assize Roll, Glouc., Mich., 5 Hen. III., m. 1.

[3] Rot. Hund., 2 Edw. I., Vol. I., f. 166.

[4] Exchcq. Lord Treas., Mich., 49 Edw. III., 11.; Pasch. 4 Hen. IV. 6, Pasch. 8 Hen. V., 7.

[5] See, for these Inquisitions, Vol. II. of the Transactions of 1877.

a half above that settled two hundred years earlier. But in addition to the special services due throughout the year from the customary tenants, all persons living in the town, males or females, permanent residents or temporary sojourners, all, who were of age to maintain themselves by labour, were bound to do three days' work in making the lord's hay, and the same in harvesting his corn, the lord feeding them honourably at harvest time.[1] Besides these labour services the tenants, whether of villein condition, or holding land on villein tenure, had to bring all their corn to be ground at the lord's mills. At the regular weekly market the ordinary tenants were at liberty to buy or sell any kind of merchandise, except horses, without paying toll, but they paid 2½d. chepingavel half-yearly. Beer they might brew freely for their own use, from grain of their own growth; but if they wanted to sell beer, they must either pay 1d., as stakepeny, for every brewing, (and there were no mashtubs, to hold 1000 gallons, then) or give what was called tolcestre, *i.e.*, four gallons of best beer, and four gallons of second best.[2] Tenants, who were traders, paid toll at every market which they attended, and everyone had to pay at the half-yearly fairs.[3] The tenants attended the halfyearly

[1] There is no definition given of honourable feeding. But from the description of the manors belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral at the commencement of the thirteenth century, it appears that on one manor two men had at their first meal porridge of beans or pease, two loaves, one white the other maslin, *i.e.* mixed of wheat and rye, a piece of meat, and beer; at their second meal a small loaf of maslin bread and some cheese; or else two great loaves, porridge, six herrings, a piece of some other fish, and water. On another manor the tenant, who had provided two men to labour, besides their two meals a day, went himself to supper at the Court, and was served with three dishes as a mark of distinction. On another manor thirty-four mowers and haymakers were entitled, for their service, to the bread of four bushels of wheat, a live sheep, a cheese worth 5d., and a cheese mould full of salt, and another of oatmeal.—(Hale's Domesday of St. Paul, Camd. Soc., lxvii., lxxxii). On one of the manors belonging to Worcester Priory, it was customary from ancient days, to give a ram, and a cheese worth 4d., to the mowers and haymakers—(Hale's Register of Worcester Priory, Camd. Soc., 83 b.)—not a bad way of getting rid of an old ram. At Cirencester, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, this honourable feeding was commuted for a payment of 1½d. to each man.

[2] In the fourteenth century, Lord Berkeley's right of Tollcestre was worth over £8 a year; but then the equivalent, which he demanded in cash for the Stakepeny, was 4d. or 6d.—Fosbroke's Gloucestershire, i., 454.

Reg. Abb. Cir., A. 200, a.

halimot, in the "Kyngeshalle," in the abbey; and as Cirencester was always, being ancient demesne of the Crown, a jurisdiction separate from the adjacent hundred, and the abbot was lord of the hundreds, they attended his half-yearly view of Frankpledge, presenting to him all matters of complaint. They had to act as ale-tasters and meat-inspectors, if elected to the office, and if not elected they paid 1d. as hedepeny. Of course every adult was enrolled in some tithing,[1] those who were not natives paying the lord twelve pence for the privilege of being enrolled; and if a Cirencester man got into any trouble away from home, and was arrested, then the lord's serjeant was to go with the tithing of the detained man, and replevy and support him as far as the lord's authority would stretch. Then every three weeks they had to do suit to the manorial court, which took the place of the hundred court, and there act as jurors, and there before the abbot's officers plead all their suits concerning their lands, or of debt, or distraint, or contract. Their land they held of their lord for life only, without any deed, and the lord transferred it, when vacant, to whomsoever he pleased, without reservation of anyone's rights; the tenant having no right of sale or bequest, while the lord could exact an arbitrary fine for permitting a child or kinsman to succeed. Then, as holding on villein tenure, they paid the fine *merchet* to the lord on the marriage of their daughters. At their death their best chattel, horse or otherwise, went as heriot to their lord, the abbot, who being also rector of the parish church, which was appropriated to the abbey, claimed the second best chattel as well, by the name of mortuary.[2] Originally, the villein services were due, in some cases, because of the personal villein condition of the tenants,—they were villeins by reason of their birth,—in other cases because the land was in villeinage, and the tenants therefore, though personally of free condition, had to render villein services by reason of their tenure. But during the latter portion of the twelfth century an alteration took place, by

[1] In the Assize Roll for Gloucestershire, 32 Henry III., is an entry that the township of Cirencester was amerced, because a man accused of murder had been received into the township without frankpledge, and without being enrolled in any tithing.

[2] Reg. Abb. Cir., B. 535—8.

which the personal obligation to villeinage, by reason of birth, ceased in all cases; and all the tenants, with the exception of two who had compounded by a money rent in lieu of all services, performed villein services as part of their tenure of land on the manor. Thenceforward all the men were privileged villeins on the ancient demesne of the Crown—to use Bracton's expression, quoted, evidently with approval, in the Abbey Cartulary, as being a true account of the condition of the tenants on the manor—personally free, not constrained to dwell on the manor because of their villein birth; while, on the other hand, the lord could not eject them, during their life, from their holdings so long as they fulfilled the conditions of tenure.

With all this privilege however, as old writers on the constitution called it, there was plenty of room for oppression by simply

[1] It may be interesting to compare these customs of a town held in villeinage, though privileged, with the condition of a free town in the same county. "These are the liberties and free customs of Tewkesbury given and granted by Robert and William, formerly Earls of Gloucester. First, every burgage shall pay 12d. rent a year for all services; and every burgess may, at his inclination, grant, mortgage, sell, or in any other manner, alienate any burgage of his own purchase to whomsoever he pleases, saving the lord's services; and if that burgage devolves by inheritance, his heir or heirs shall hold it; . . . . . and he shall have seizin immediately, without making any exhibition to the bailiff or steward; and if burgesses should have two burgages, and wish to leave one of them, they may grant the same liberties to the lessee as they themselves enjoy; and if any one hold half a burgage in chief of our lord the Earl, he shall enjoy the same privilege as if he held a whole one.

Item, the burgesses owe no rent against their will at the mill, or in fulling or dyeing cloth.

Item, no burgess shall give heriot or relief for his burgage, but may marry his son or daughter without soliciting licence from any one.

Item, any one may sell his wood, horse, or any other article he legally holds, without licence of his lord. . . . .

Item, every burgess may brew and bake without license, toll, or custom, and he may make dovecotes, and a horse or handmill; and if he shall have been summonsed to the hundred, and shall have gone on his own business out of the town, or be ready to set out, provided he has one foot in the stirrup, and can bring two neighbours to prove it, he shall be free.

Item, the knights and free tenants shall be free in the hundred and in the market from toll, for all things sold or bought for their own use, unless they should be in trade, &c., &c.—(Register of Abb. of Tewkesbury, quoted in Fosbroke's Gloucestershire, i. 282-3.)

standing upon extreme rights, from which there was no escape, and no remedy at law. Generations might pass on, and circumstances of life alter, rendering old customs inconvenient, but the men who lived under those customs could not alter them. The state had permitted private ownership of land; these customs were the legal rights of the landlord, and legal rights were tried, in manors of ancient demesne, first of all in the local courts with "their strict maintenance of formalities, and their incapacity for regarding equitable considerations." Nor were matters necessarily bettered if the case were brought before the superior courts; for, though it was no longer the abbot's officials who sat as judges, the procedure of the courts often made matters worse. Lord Justice James' account of the common law-courts of former days, reported in the Daily News of 18th May, 1877, is as follows. "In former years the judges of the common law-courts delighted in applying rigidly and strictly a series of rules and maxims, which their predecessors had delighted themselves in devising, though such rules and maxims did not commend themselves to the millions affected." Moreover, the King's justices could not decide contrary to common law: their business was to declare law, and enforce law. But common law was custom, and in matters of tenure the lord of the manor originally settled the customs. He alone therefore could alter them. There is a case in the year books for 1302, connected with Cirencester, which will illustrate this.[1] The abbot distrained some cattle of Thomas of Matyshale for default of service, whereupon Thomas complained to the sheriff in the county court, but the sheriff had no right to enter the abbot's liberties. Thomas then went to the Court of Common Pleas and obtained a writ, bidding the sheriff, notwithstanding the abbot's franchise, replevy the beasts. Upon this the abbot obtained another writ removing the whole case before the King's justices. When the trial came on in the Court of Common Pleas, Thomas's counsel told his tale, to which the abbot's counsel replied, "The distress was made at Cirencester which is part of the antient demesne of the Crown, where no writ runs but the little writ of right; Thomas is a tenant of antient demesne, and neither in this

[1] Year Books, 30 & 31 Edw. I. f. 18.

court or elsewhere are we going to make any answer to the common law of England." Thomas tried to make out that he held by payment of 2s. 4d. for all services, but on being pressed by the judge to produce evidence of this, he could bring nothing to shew it. Upon this judgement was given for the abbot, and though he could not obtain an order for the sheriff to deliver up the beasts to him again, yet Thomas was declared to be in his mercy; and the abbot was told he might do to his villein as he pleased, the result being of course that Thomas would have to pay a fine to the abbot to settle the matter. For Thomas had no right to bring the case before the King's justices at all in that way: if he thought himself aggrieved and oppressed he could obtain the little writ of right bidding the abbot do justice in his own court, when the other tenants, as jurors, would declare what were the services, which were due from Thomas's land, according to the custom of the manor. But that custom was the very thing of which Thomas really complained, and from that, as declared by the local jury, the King's courts could give him no relief; unless the jury had made a false declaration of custom. Thomas was not the only tenant who felt the grievance; seventy years before a regular attempt had been made by a number of the tenants, to transfer their suits concerning lands and tenements in Cirencester from the manorial court, where they were tried according to the custom of the manor, to the King's courts, where they would be tried according to the common law of England. So determined was the attempt that the abbot had to call in the authority of the King, who finding, on enquiry, that this was an endeavour to break through the ancient rule of the place, issued his writ[1] enforcing the jurisdiction of the manorial court.

The question of the transference of land, and the succession to land, was another fruitful cause of discontent, as there was a complete absence of anything like tenant right, nor was there any security whatever that the children or relations of the tenants would have the benefit of any improvements which they might have made. Liberty of bequest and of inheritance was a right keenly

[1] Close Roll. 12 Hen. III. m. 3.

sought after. It was the one thing granted by the Conqueror to the City of London. "I will that every child be his father's heir after his father's day."[1] That they might dispose of their tenements by will on their death beds, was the prayer of the townsmen of Kingston-upon-Hull to Edward I. in 1297.[2]

One or two cases will shew how matters went here. Hugh of Cirencester, held land in villeinage; it seems to have been some considerable amount; and his son William succeeded him. This was early in the twelfth century, during the lordship of the King. When William however died, and his brother Robert wanted to succeed to his inheritance, the abbot, who was now lord, complained to the King, called the sheriff in, ousted Robert, pulled down the buildings, and did away with the garden.[3] The canons wanted, presumably, to throw the premises into their precinct. They were, of course, within their legal right, but it was hard for Robert. The custom of the manor is laid down in a suit begun in the local court in 1257,[4] concerning some land in Minety, where, as against John the Rideler, to whom the abbot had granted possession, Richard of the Sterte tried to hold possession in right of his wife Juliana, to whom, he said, her mother, Matilda of Cerney, had granted the land. But John said "how can Matilda grant any land, she is of servile condition and has nothing within the manor that she can grant? Moreover, the custom is that if anyone wishes to give up their land they must return it to the lord's hand, who grants it out again to whom he pleases, without any deed and subject to anyone's rights;" and the local jury, with Nicholas the Provost at their head, affirmed that this was so. Richard and Juliana were not satisfied and lodged an appeal of false judgement, when the sheriff was directed to go and get the judgement and record avouched, and transmit it to Westminster for the King's justices to consider. He went therefore to the local court, when the twelve men, who had given the judgement, now unsaid it, and got into trouble for so doing: one way or other they had given an untrue verdict and were fined accordingly. John of course had legal rights, but it seems clear

[1] Stubbs' Select Charters. f. 79.
[2] Madox. Hist. Excheq. i. 423.
[3] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 17. a.
[4] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 100—102.

that there was hardship about it, and if it had been possible, the suitors of the court would have liked to disavow the custom. The sheriff had to come twice afterwards before he could get the matter put straight. The Cirencester men would avouch the record to be a true account of what had taken place, but they were unwilling to avouch the judgement to be true. At last the judgement was avouched and transmitted to London, when the judges affirmed it, and Richard and Juliana were adjudged to be within the abbot's mercy for a false appeal. This was in 1259, and when Juliana, now a widow, tried the matter again by way of appeal against the custom as declared by the manorial court, the former judgement was again confirmed in 1281. Under such a system there was, of course, plenty of opening for extortion; and the heavy fines for inheritance, exacted by the abbots, formed one of a series of complaints made to the King in 1400. [1]

The compulsion to grind at the lord's mills was here, as elsewhere, a fruitful source of trouble. Everywhere the tenants were constantly resisting this compulsion, their protest mostly taking the practical form of setting up hand-mills of their own, where, though they might not grind their corn so finely and well as it would be ground at the lord's powerful water-mill, yet at any rate they had the certainty that they got all that passed through the stones. On the other hand there was no right which the lords of manors were more keen in enforcing, or more jealous of allowing anyone to transgress. Hand mills would not be allowed: a horse-mill or wind-mill was a tremendous crime, for all kinds of persons might use it. There are many stories in the Monastic Annals concerning these contests about milling rights. Jocelyn de Brakelond [2] tells us that about 1180, when Abbot Samson, of Bury-St.-Edmonds, heard that Herbert, an old tenant, had presumed to set up a wind-mill, he was so angry he could hardly eat or speak, and when the old man hearing this came to speak the abbot fair, and tried to make out that it was only for his own convenience, he was so rated and threatened that he hurried home to have the mill pulled down, anxious to save the materials for his own use. In 1455, in the time

[1] Inq. a. q. d. 1 Hen. IV. 36.

[2] Chron. Jocelyn de Brakelonde, Camden Society, 43.

of John Whethampstede, Abbot of St. Alban's,[1] one John of Chertsey presumed to set up a horse-mill at Watford, whereupon the abbot's constable went and seized the stones and took them to his own house. The man was out, his wife only at home; but she, "in woman's fashion, broke out wholly into execrations and curses, and having gathered together a number of chattering folk of the frail sex with small discretion, went and broke into the constable's house and brought back the stones in triumph." Of course the abbot took further proceedings, when the man, in alarm, went and fell on his knees before the abbot, asking pardon for what had been done, begging permission to keep the mill, and undertaking to grind nothing but oats. But the abbot said to him "My friend, no one ever knows where to stop. All experience shews that if you give a man an inch he takes an ell. I won't expose you to such a temptation. Moreover, you deserve punishment, and ask a favour. Go home, and conform yourself." Master John had to pull his mill down. At St. Alban's itself, the matter was keenly agitated. In 1274[2] the abbot tried to satisfy the complaint of the townsmen, who were obliged to surrender their hand-mills and pay a fine, by providing that the miller should swear to be honest, and that an immediate inquest should always be allowed. But fifty years after,[3] when the commons, smarting under the sense of oppression, rose against the monks, besieged the abbey, and erected a rude kind of guillotine in the market-place, they extorted a charter of liberties from the abbot, and, though he had refused to grant the right of private multure, they set up eighty hand-mills. Their triumph lasted for seven years, the abbot biding his time; but when his turn came, the hand-mills were all confiscated, and the stones were let into the pavement of the monks' parlour,[4] in token that the abbey rights had been maintained, and there the stones stayed for another fifty years. But when, in 1381,[5] the commons rose all over the south of England in the insurrection of Wat Tyler, the townsmen again besieged the abbey, burst in, went and tore up

[1] Reg. Abbot Whethampstede, i., 199-202.
[2] Gesta. Abbat, i., 423.
[3] Gesta. Abbat, ii., 155-176.
[4] Gesta. Abbat, ii., 250-5.
[5] Gesta. Abbat, iii., 289-371.

the parlour floor, and breaking the old millstones in pieces distributed them throughout the town like, it is said, "the Blessed Bread on the Lord's day," in token that they had vindicated their liberties. Unluckily for them, this did not last long.[1]

At Cirencester, about 1300, the abbot was very busy in this matter, seizing and sequestrating the hand-mills of several persons, and the townsmen were considerably irritated and looked about for some means of redress. Now, about that time, England was in an unquiet condition. The King was occupied in his wars, and had no time to attend to matters of police, while disbanded soldiers and others were taking up the trade of ruffianism. But when Edward returned from Stirling in the autumn of 1304, he made enquiries about the state of the country, and finding that violence was very prevalent, he issued a special commission called Traylebaston, for the putting down of evildoers in this respect. The commission was a very wide and strict one, with severe penalties, and seems to have been effective in repressing ruffianism, while at the same time the great number of fines enriched the Exchequer. Seventy years later, in 1378, when the Parliament, which met at Gloucester, was slow about granting Richard II. a heavy tax, the King threatened to issue a Traylebaston.[2] The name means stick-bearers, because the roughs carried big sticks and were very free in using them. Peter Langtoft,[3] in his chronicle of that year, explains the matter. He says there were "numbers of common squabblers who banded themselves together, and at fairs and markets they would attack anyone who contradicted them, or any trader who would not trust them ; and anywhere they would, for three or four shillings, beat a quiet person who had done no harm, indeed they would do it for no other reason than to shew how bold they were ; if there were not chastisement for such ribalds[4] and

[1] It must not be inferred that the monks were exceptionally oppressive in their exercise of manorial rights. But the monks were the only chroniclers in those days, and they have not recorded manorial disputes, except when they concerned their own manors. The verdict of historians is that the monks, as a rule, were good landlords.

[2] Eulog. Histor., iii., 345.

[3] Camden Society Political Songs, 318-9.

[4] The name, Ribald, seems, in its original meaning, to have been attached to the low hangers-on about a great man's house, who were ready for any dirty work.

rascals, people dare not live in their houses." The ordinance was plainly a sharp one with severe penalties, and was welcomed accordingly by the "respectables." "Oh how good is God in his dealings," says Langtoft, "who revenges us of felons." When the justices of Traylebaston came for the first time to Gloucester, in January, 1305,[1] the abbot welcomed them heartily, made them a sumptuous feast, at which seventy persons were present, including the Priors of Lantony and St. Oswald, thirty Knights, and all the more honourable men of the county, when the justices declared they had not been so treated for many years. That was not, however, the view of the Traylebaston himself; he thought it very hard. An outlaw's song of Traylebaston has been preserved.[2] He is made to say, "Sir, if I want to chastise my lad, to give him a blow or two to correct him, he will get a writ against me and have me arrested, and before I can get out of prison I shall have to pay a heavy ransom; now, is that right? I have served the King in his wars in Flanders, and Scotland, and Gascony, and now I do not know what to do. The bad idlers have indicted me of so many delinquencies that I dare not be received among my friends. I will, therefore, keep myself in the beautiful shade of the green trees, where there is no falseness or bad law, in the wood of Belregard, where the jay flies and the nightingale always sings. As for those wicked jurors and cruel judges, if I could get hold of them, I would teach them the game of Traylebaston. Except the King himself, may the curse of God be upon the man who first granted such a commission." The common people were of opinion that the proper subjects for such a commission were the officials, with their rods of office, who broke open doors and executed distraints. When, a few years after this, in 1309, the Mayor of Wallingford[3] went to the house of Henry of Horspath, to make an arrest in a case of assault, Henry and his son John, and his wife Matilda, "attacked him violently, maliciously cursed him, and maligned him, saying he had forgotten to be hanged at Traylebaston, because he had broken into people's houses and carried off their goods."

[1] Hist. Mon. Glouc., 38. [2] Camden Society Political Songs, 231-6.

[3] Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, vi., 584.

So thought the Cirencester people. This bailiff of the abbot's, this fellow with the long pole, who comes breaking into houses and carrying off millstones, is not he a Traylebaston? The Cirencester folk accordingly made up their minds to try if they could not get redress under the ordinance of Traylebaston; and the twelve good men and true, who went to Gloucester to present all offences before the justices, had this article in their budget. As a peep into the life of those days, the Cirencester items of the Assize Roll for Gloucestershire, of Hilary, 34 Edw. I., are here given.[1] The township of Cirencester came before the justices, by twelve men, and presented, that in 1302, Richard, the Walker (*i.e.*, clothmiller) of Saperton, had killed Ralf, the son of Thomas, the Batour of Cirencester. John Atayse had stolen £10 from the coffer of Philip le Ken, which was within the abbey. John pleaded his clergy, so he was handed over to his bishop. Concerning common beaters they say that Philip Trot of Chelworth, and Robert Neel of Piriton, with certain other associates, came at the instigation of Robert de Stane and seized the Church of Minety, and kept possession for three weeks, and during that time they beat Miles Whityng and broke Hugh of Haygarten's arms and legs, and they are both common beaters. Then Peter Godwyne had come one night, in 1301, and had beaten John the Cordwainer within an inch of his life. Robert de Moy, too, the squire of Sir Robert de Veel, at the instigation of John Boylond of Cirencester, had come with a lot of Welshmen,[2] the last time the Welsh returned from Flanders, and had taken Robert of Avenesbury by force, and brought him to the gate of Boylond's house, and there beaten and ill-treated him; and had then taken him in, and beaten him with their swords till he executed a bond to pay Boylond £10, and they had made him give them, there and

[1] Assize Roll Gloucestershire, 34 Edw. I., m. 7.

[2] The Welshmen, on their way home from the King's foreign wars, seem to have been a nuisance more than once. Here is a story from the Assize Roll for Gloucestershire in 1287, 15 Edw. I.—"Four mounted Welshmen, with thirty-four armed Welshmen, came and took up their quarters in the garden of the lord of Stratton, and sent into Cirencester after food; (*miserunt apud Cirencestriam post victualia*). So John Dytteney came and asked them to give security for payment: whereupon these evildoers insulted and killed him, and immediately fled; no one knows who they are."

then, 15s. Peter Godwyne of Hakeburn, with certain others, had of malice aforethought come by night, and beaten William le Guys and Roger le Kyngth, and broken Roger's arms; and the jurors say that these are all common beaters, and they have fled because of their manifold transgressions: they are, therefore, outlawed. Peter Godwyne, however, appears and pleads guilty, upon which he is imprisoned and a fine inflicted, which is afterwards remitted at the instance of the abbot. Moreover, concerning beaters, they say that one Richard Streych a stranger, with Roger Pope, and Nicholas the son of Stephen of Campden, and many others unknown, had come to the house of John of Ernestre, and there had maliciously beaten one Will of Markham nearly to death in 1302. And John Atayse, and Robert of Sandford a cleric, had come to Cirencester fair in 1301, and there had beaten Roger Queordelyoum nearly to death. And Richard Abbot, John Atayse, Geoffrey Pende, Richard Wychberd and Walter of Brokenberghe had beaten John Somt nearly to death in 1300. And Richard Abbot, Henry the Someter, John Atayse, and Nicholas the son of Stephen of Campden, with William the son of Reginald the Walker, had by night maliciously beaten John Alisaunder in 1301. And Henry Squiler and Roger Pope had beaten and wounded Walter Wrytheloc in 1301. They none of them appear but Richard Abbot and Henry the Someter, and the sheriff declares he cannot find the others: they are therefore outlawed. Richard Abbot pays a fine. Afterwards Walter of Brokenberghe comes, and he is convicted of aiding and abetting the beating of John Alisaunder, but he is declared not to be a common beater, therefore he is imprisoned and fined, but the fine is remitted at the instance of the abbot. Seventeen men were accused of ruffianism of whom four, and they some of the worst, belonged to the abbot's household. For the next and last complaint was that about handmills. The jury presented, that John of Domesden (a spot in Chesterton) the abbot's bailiff, with Robert of Lillebrok, John of Lillebrok, Richard Abbot, John Atayse, Geoffrey Pulham, Walter of Brokenberghe, and Roger Pope had, at different times during the last five years, broken into the houses of Walter Thedwyn, Richard le Hayle, William Waleys, Thomas Tilly, and

Roger Queordelyoun, and seized their millstones, some of which they had broken and some they had taken away to the abbey. Whereupon John of Domesden replied, "Just so: these men are all tenants of the abbot in his manor of Cirencester of antient demesne, where there are three mills to which the abbot's men are bound to do suit and service by bringing their corn to be ground, and these other mills are new ones lately set up contrary to the custom of the manor and in prejudice of the abbot's rights. Having been duly summoned he had gone to these men's houses, as bailiff of the manor with a white rod in his hand, by the name of his bailywick, as was the custom, and ordered the nuisance to be abated, and when the men had utterly refused to obey, he had gone again at the abbot's command with the other accused men and moved the stones." That was his reply in justification; and no one was bold enough, individually, to come forward and prosecute him. Whereupon, said the justices, "this concerns freehold tenure; this is not our business; what do you bring these complaints here for? You are all in mercy,"—*i.e.*, they must make what terms they could with the abbot. These terms were that twenty men of Cirencester should execute a deed in behalf of themselves and the whole town, owning that they had made a false complaint, and agreeing to pay the abbot 100 marcs, *i.e.*, £66 13s. 4d. A side-note in the abbey cartulary, where this suit is enrolled, explains that the bailiff had no right to break hand-mills which belonged to the customary tenants, but that the tenants had no right to withdraw their suit from the abbey mills.[1]

The right again of the abbot to tallage his tenants, when the King levied tallage through his demesnes, was another source of difficulty. The arbitrarily assessed tallage, however much in earlier days it passed unquestioned, yet afterwards became a great cause of complaint, when regular subsidies began to be levied, So much was it felt to be out of place that each of the three Edwards[2] only attempted it once, and the citizens of London and Bristol resisted the King strongly. The clergy met with resistance fiercer still. As early as 1229 the townsmen of Dunstable[3] rose up

[1] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 103b. [2] Stubbs' Constitutional History, ii., 518.
[3] Annal. Mon. iii., 119-123.

about this, and sturdily refused to pay tallage to the prior, though in the midst of the dispute he obtained a special writ from the King bidding them pay it. The King's justices threatened them, the Bishop of Lincoln excommunicated them; they did not care: "Very well then," they said, "they were excommunicated; but they would rather go to hell than pay tallage;" and they tried to make an arrangement with a neighbouring proprietor, one of the Cantilupes, for some land that they might build a new Dunstable free from the dues of their lord. Now "when such iniquity abounded," says the annalist, "the Lord visited the spirit of Master John, the Archdeacon of Bedford," who intervened and suggested an arrangement which was agreed upon and settled before the justices, viz., that the prior should give up his right of tallage, and his men in return should promise in future to be obedient in all other matters, and pay down at once £60 for this concession. When, at one time, the townsmen of Dunstable had half agreed to pay, they had assessed the tallage at what the prior thought a ridiculously low figure, only 63s. for the whole town, and he counted the assessors to be prejudiced men. Tallage was a tax without any precise limit except the lord's will; beyond this that the tenant must not be ruined by it; and though it is doubtful to what extent the right was pressed, yet Archdeacon Hale, in his "Notes to the Domesday of St. Paul," says, that it seems clear that lords could throw by it the burden of taxation off their own shoulders on to the tenants, and the Clerical Corporations seem to have had a heavy hand in this respect. An instance of their method of acting is seen in the very commencement of the dispute at Dunstable, which began in this way. The Prior had, two years before, obtained from Hen. III. a confirmation of the Charters granted them by Hen. I. and Rich. I., with an additional clause, by which the town of Dunstable and its inhabitants were completely given over to the Prior. He had paid the King £100 for this Charter, and was now making the townspeople pay him two-thirds of the price at which he had purchased them from the King, and distraining upon those who did not pay up readily. The enquiries ordered by the Provisions of Oxford in 1259, as preserved in the Burton Annals,[1] shew what was thought to be

[1] Annal. Mon., i., 485.

not unusual, and needed restraining. "Do they," *i.e.*, the clergy, "oppress their subjects by tallages?" The King's tallages were bad enough, those of the clergy were worse. When, in 1312, it was suggested to the King that the Abbot of Cirencester was illegally levying tallage to his own use, and Master Nicholas of Stratton impleaded the abbot in the exchequer about it, in the Memoranda Roll,[1] and in the Parliament Rolls[2]—for the matter was mentioned there too—Nicholas was, of course, counted to be pleading for the King: in the opinion of the Cirencester folk he was pleading in their behalf. Master Nicholas was counted by them as a hero, and afterwards lamented as a martyr, when, according to the accusation of the townsmen, the abbot ill-treated him, and got him put to death.[3] The attempt, however, to escape from the abbot to the King was vain, for though the suit dragged on till 1321, the abbot's right was then allowed by charter; and when the townsmen, twenty-two years after,[4] insinuated that the abbot had deceived Edw. II., and the King's attorney entered a fresh plea, the abbot's right was after argument again confirmed. It ceased to be of any good when the King surrendered his general right; but the abbots used it, and to the full it would seem, as long as it lasted.

Besides these quarrels about special points of custom, the whole question of the services, by which the townsmen held their tenements and lands, became again and again a cause of discontent and exasperation. A complaint was made against Abbot Adam very shortly after the King first granted the manor by lease to the canons, and Henry II. issued a writ to the abbot bidding him not unjustly vex the King's men of Cirencester for their free tenements which they held of the King, nor unjustly exact from them any other customs or services than those which they were bound to perform for their tenements, when the King gave the town to the abbey in alms, or than the men and their ancestors were wont to perform in the days of Henry I.[5] There seems to have been some fresh allegation against the abbots, at the time

[1] Excheq. Mem. Roll, Mich., 7 Edw. II. [2] Rot. Parl. i., 322a.
[3] Reg. Abb. Cir., A. 37. [4] Excheq. Mem. Roll, Mich., 16 Edw. III.
[5] Cir. Abb. Reg. A, 22a.

when Richard I. granted the town to the abbey, for in the Pipe Roll 1 Rich. I. is an entry that the burgesses of Cirencester have to pay £3 6s. 8d. for making a false presentment, which points to some untrue complaint. The two Inquisitions taken in the reign of John shew that, supposing the abbots were not trying to force on new customs, yet the old customs were becoming irksome if strictly enforced. The first in 1207-8 seems to have been taken at the instance of the abbot, who obtained a writ from the King bidding the sheriff determine the ancient services by inquisition, and give the abbot seizin. Possibly the tenants were refractory, and needed compulsion; but there is nothing in the record itself to explain why the inquisition was taken. Two years before, however, the King had ordered the sheriff to seize all the property of the abbey within the county, and give the estates over to Albinus, the King's military engineer, as guardian till further order.[1] Maybe, therefore, the writ and the inquisition were simply the preliminaries to the restoration of their property to the canons. Not so, however, with the second in the year 1219, which is distinctly said to have been taken with the view of investigating a complaint made by the young men of the town, and the temporary sojourners there, to the effect that the abbot, as lord of the manor, was not warranted in exacting the general services from every one in the town. The times were against the clergy, for the Interdict was in force, and the King had quarrelled with them; but on investigation it was found that the abbot was only enforcing the regular manorial services, such as Hen. II. had claimed and enforced when the manor was in his hands. Fifteen years passed on, and in 1225 there was again a difficulty about this question of services, though again there is nothing to show exactly how it originated. Hen. III., though only seventeen years old, had been declared by Pope Honorius competent to govern in 1223. The young King and his advisers had been at Cirencester in the autumn of 1224,[2] when possibly the townsmen took the opportunity of making a personal representation to him. Certainly the townsmen made a complaint somewhere, and the matter came before the King's justices this time, who ordered an inquest; and twenty-four

[1] Close Roll, 7 John, 15. [2] Close Roll, 8 Hen. III., Oct. 7-8.

Knights and others of the neighbourhood, having been summoned to Westminster, made there a declaration identical with the one sworn to before the sheriff at Cirencester in 1207-8. A nominal description is given in it of the tenants on the manor with their various services; the sheriff is ordered to give seizin to the abbot; and all the men of Cirencester are adjudged to be within the abbot's mercy, and no doubt had to pay him a heavy fine for having made a false appeal to the King.[1] This Inquisition being enrolled in the King's Court became, thenceforward, the standard to which the canons might appeal; and whenever there was a difficulty with the tenants in the same way, the abbot in possession would get a copy of this record, with a confirmation by the reigning sovereign. And no disuser would run against the abbots, for as time after time in each succeeding reign they obtained confirmation of their general charters, they got the phrase "quamvis usi non fuerint" inserted.[2] Before long there was again a difficulty of some kind, for, in January, 1232, the King ordered the Sheriff of Gloucestershire to cause the liberties granted to the canons by Henry II., Richard, and John, to be observed.[3]

The times, however, were against the continuance of such services. Conditions of life were changing, and customs endurable in an agricultural community, such as Cirencester was in the eleventh century, were intolerable in a trading town, and such Cirencester was fast becoming. The woollen trade doubtless began when after the Conquest the wool of the tenants' sheep ceased to form part of the royal rent, and remained at the tenants' own disposal.[4] Within the next century it had become regularly established, for the names of Ralph the Weaver, and Henry the Dobber, *i.e.*, Dyer, and Norman the Fellmonger, appear in the reign of Henry II.;[5] and by the middle of the thirteenth century that industry had become marked enough for the Cheaping Street to have assumed the name of "Dyar's Strete;" while among the sub-tenants on the land of Richard de Pirie are three merchants

[1] Coram. Rege. Roll, Mich. 9 Hen. III.

[2] Cart. 31 Hen. III., 10; 15 Edw. II., 33.

[3] Close Roll, 16 Hen. III., 17.

[4] Domesday, 126 b.

[5] Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xi. 131-4. Cir. Abb. Reg. A. 65 a.

mentioned about the same period. Under the Edwards the wool trade developed largely. Foreign merchants from Amiens, and other trading towns of the north of France and of Flanders, were attracted here, Giles and Henry de Beaupyne among others, one of whose descendants, Thomas Beaupyne, was Mayor of Bristol in 1383, and dying there in 1403 desired to be brought to Cirencester to be buried in the Abbey in Sir Henry Mourton's chapel.[2] The great commercial family of Canynge was also represented at Cirencester. John de Canynges who was one of the complainants against the abbot in 1343,[3] and was associated with William de Beaupigne in Cirencester deeds of 1348 and 1350,[4] is possibly the father of J. Canynges, who is mentioned in 1396 in the will of Wm Canynges of Bristol,[5] and who dying himself in 1405, gave the care of his younger son, Thomas, and of two daughters to Margaret Beaupyne, the widow of Thomas Beaupyne.[6] In 1341 there were ten wool-merchants at Cirencester, the stock of Richard the Dyer being certified to have been worth 200 marcs,[7] and Cirencester and its wool-merchants were known abroad as far as Florence.[8] It was not likely, under these circumstances, that the old customs would be readily submitted to; and a fresh re-arrangement was made at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, by which the customary tenants commuted for a further increase of money-rent their obligation to provide manual labour upon the abbot's farm throughout the year.[9] All the other manorial customs, however, were retained, including the duty of providing so many days' work in hay-time and harvest-tide. The condition of the tenants was so far bettered, that they were not liable to have their own work perpetually disarranged by calls made upon them to send labourers into their lord's fields; but the control exercised by the abbot, his supremacy in all matters, and the various dues still owing to him, which marked the villein

[1] Testa. de Nevill, 78. [2] Lambeth Reg. Archb. Arundel, i., 205 b.

[3] Reg. Abb. Cir. A., 37 b. [4] Bodleian Dugdale MS. 42, 7 b, 16 b.

[5] Bristol Great Orphan Book, No. 88.

[6] Bristol Great Orphan Book, No. 151. [7] Inquis. Nonarum., 419.

[8] Professor Church gave me this information.

[9] Professor Thorold Rogers, in his Six Centuries of Work and Wages, says that at this period similar commutations were very generally effected.

condition of tenure, were felt to be very irksome, and the townsmen were keenly watching for some opportunity of upsetting their lord, if only they could catch him tripping.

Matters came to a crisis in 1343, when the men of Cirencester preferred a bill of complaint into Chancery against Abbot William Hereward, accusing him and his predecessors of many encroachments both against the King and themselves, praying for an enquiry, and declaring that the abbot had given a pension of £40 to the sister of the Archbishop of Canterbury that he might be supported in his malicious practices.[1] Upon this, twenty men of the town being ordered up to Westminster, they made a declaration on oath agreeing with the several items of the bill of complaint. The matters affecting the King's revenue were suggested, doubtless, to give importance to the case; if they acted as informers they hoped the King would shew them favour. There is a borough, they declare, distinct from the manor: the borough is a *gros* by itself, and the manor another *gros* by itself; and the borough belongs to the King, who ought to receive £100 a year from it; whereas the abbots since 10 John have usurped the borough, and so the King receives nothing; and they suggest that the Pipe Rolls should be searched. The abbots have encroached on the King's highway since 1203, and built houses on the market place; they have received property against the Mortmain Acts, and have occupied a number of burgages in the said borough; and in 1292 they enclosed sixty acres of the common pasture of the town, in a place called Crondles, or Cronnes (The Querns). Ever since the reign of John they have usurped the parish church, with its dependent chapels of Baunton and Wigwold, whereas the King is the patron: they have destroyed all the venison in Oakley and ploughed up a hundred acres of the forest: they have usurped Henry the I.'s foundation of the hospital of St. John, taken, since 1155, the tithes, which the King gave to the hospital, and appropriated them to their own use, and instead of chaplain-wardens had appointed laymen from whom they have received money for the privilege of the office: in the same way they have seized the lands of St. Lawrence's hospital, and turned out the master appointed

[1] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 36 b.-43 b.

by the Bishop of Worcester. Master Nicholas of Stratton who sued the abbot on behalf of these poor has been beaten and killed by the abbot's men. The court of the provostry of the borough, to which the burgesses owed suit, has been abated since 1308, and they have been constrained to do suit to the abbot's manorial court. Then Henry the I. gave the town a charter of liberties, by which he granted to them, his burgesses of Cirencester, to have all free customs as freely as his burgesses of Winton; but in 1292 Abbot William de Clerband bribed Boylond, a burgess, in whose care the charter then was, got the charter into his own possession and burnt it: they have now, therefore, only a copy which they set out at length, and they pray the King to have regard to the purpose of the abbots to destroy their franchises, and to the suit they have against the abbot concerning his hideous encroachments: they ask, too, for a new charter of liberties similar to the old one.

One is sorry to say it of such a respectable lot of men, for they were some of the principal inhabitants of the town; W. Erchebaud, a member of the one family that had held an independent sub-manor for nearly two hundred years, if not much longer, the great wool-merchants, the goldsmith and others of the chief sort of the people; but for all that, they seem not to have been speaking truly. It is perfectly incredible that, if the townsmen were in possession of a genuine charter a hundred-and-fifty years before, they should not have produced and pleaded it, and claimed freedom under it, when those inquisitions were held in the reigns of John and Hen. III. Forged charters, however, were not altogether unknown things. There is a similar story in the St. Alban's Chronicles.[1] An abbot had one day produced against him a charter of liberties, said to have been given to the men of a manor, before the Confessor's days, by the benefactor, who had given that manor to St. Alban's Abbey. On examination it was found to be full of Norman words and expressions, a palpable forgery. There are two clear marks of forgery in the charter as set out in the declaration of the men of Cirencester: Hen. I. is made to call himself Duke of Ireland and Count of Anjou; while the

[1] St. Alban's Gest. Abbat. ii., 261.

charter runs in the plural, "We," a style not used till Richard's reign; and I think it probable that the forgery first saw light at that very time. When the abbey purchased the manor of the King, there would have been an inquisition *a. q. d.* for the purpose of investigating rights as a preliminary to the transfer; so it may well be that the forged charter was prepared for use then, and that the fine mentioned above, as levied at that time upon the burgesses of Cirencester for false presentment, has reference to it. If this were so, it can be easily understood, that it would be of no use during the next thirty-five years to try and plead that forged charter again; but that at the expiration of a hundred and fifty years it might have been considered safe to make another attempt, especially when the townsmen were at the same time suggesting to the King how he might get a hold upon the abbot for himself. Moreover, it is not impossible that the memory of the forgery had disappeared in that long period, and that the townsfolk honestly believed their own story. In that case they were simply misled themselves, being not as careful as they should have been to verify the genuineness of the pretended charter of liberties, before they allowed themselves, under the influence of their keen desire to escape from under the abbot's control, to make such an accusation. However this may be, the King's attorney does not seem to have framed any charge upon this item, nor did the abbot plead to it; they both appear to have treated it as not worth attention.

The accusation about the provost's court had some truth in it. The provost on a manor was the elected head of the villeins, the foreman who settled their turns of weekly or daily labour on the lord's land, but also the protector of his fellows, their recognised head when they met in gemot or town-meeting, in their common-law right to settle their own matters or make bye-laws. When Henry II. leased the manor to the canons, it was to the provost, therefore, that the King directed his writ informing the townsfolk of the fact, and bidding them be obedient to the abbot.[1] During the following hundred-and-fifty years various persons appear in deeds as holding the office of provost, but the name disappears after

[1] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 21b.

the commencement of the fourteenth century; the cessation of the office of provost coinciding with the commutation for money of the weekly and daily work of the villein tenants. If there were no longer any men bound by their tenure to perform weekly labour, and who had to be arranged in gangs day by day for that purpose, the lord no longer needed one of them as a foreman. For the fenesones and bederipes it was the bailiff's business, as the lord's officer, to see that the tenants performed those as well as other services, and the beadle or serjeant would summon the men to them. In times of difficulties with the tenants the provost might be the centre of disaffection, and the head of rebellion. It has been already pointed out what a difficulty there was in 1259 to get the provost and his jury to swear to the ancient custom of tenure. It is easy to understand then that, when the lord ceased to need the services of the provost on his land, he also refused to allow the men any longer to elect one of their number to the office. It might be an exaggeration to talk of the provost's court and the men doing suit to it, but it would have been felt as a restriction of liberty, when they were no more allowed to elect a provost as had been so long the custom, for the practical result was, that thus the town became thrown in every respect under the lord's bailiff.

As to other matters, the time to protest against the enclosing of the Querns was gone by. The abbot said, in answer, that the Crondles was a rough thorny place which he had enclosed and made a warren of, and he had paid Edw. II. money in 1316 for letters patent of pardon which he produced.[1] So with regard to the pretended burgages, which the abbot said were only messuages held according to the custom of the manor, and for purchasing which he produced a pardon. Just the same too with regard to the blocking up of the Market-place. The abbot produced a patent of pardon which he had purchased in 1314.[2] It is worth while to notice in these matters how completely the convenience and rights of the townspeople were ignored. The abbot wanted to increase the value of his property; and there was an opportunity for Edw. II. to grasp a fine: it cost the town about fifty-five years ago

[1] Pat. 9 Edw. II., i. 18. [2] Pat. 7 Edw. II. i. 20, ii. 15.

a large sum of money to get rid of a part of these encroachments, which the abbots had made in the Market-place; while some of them, viz., the houses in the West Market-place, were of too permanent a character to be removed then. The whole suit must have been a great disappointment to the townspeople. Their own special grievances were not attended to; but the King, who wanted money for his French wars, pressed the abbot hard where money might be squeezed out of him. The suggestion of the townsmen about the £100 a year, due from the borough to the King, was of course an absurdity. If in 2 John the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, when he came up to the annual exchequer audit, had not produced the customary £100 as from the borough, he would have had to account for it by some writ of allowance from the King, which would accordingly have been entered on the roll under the head of "in terris datis," or "in perdonis per breve regis," or else it would have appeared in the roll against the sheriff as an unpaid amount. The story arose, possibly, from the fact that in 1189, 1199, and 1205-6, the abbots had paid three several sums of £100 to Richard and John for charters.[1] With regard to the question of the borough itself there was something to be said. "What as to the Borough the jury talk about? Look at these extracts from the Pipe Rolls," said the King's attorney, "they shew that in Richard's reign in 1191 the borough of Cirencester paid 10 marcs tallage; in 1197 the burgesses of Cirencester paid £10 tallage; and that in 1 John the town of Cirencester paid £10 tallage, and the borough of Cirencester 20 marcs. It is clear that there is a Borough there." "I know nothing about your certificates from the Exchequer," replied the abbot's counsel, "and the jurors are talking nonsense about the borough. The town of Cirencester and the town of Minety make up the manor of Cirencester, which King Richard gave and K. John confirmed to us, and here is King John's Charter." "You cannot get away from these extracts," said the Attorney in answer, and he begged that the abbot might be ordered to produce his charter of foundation for the inspection of the court. Now this would have been most awkward for the abbot, for in the charter of Henry I. the towns-

[1] Pipe Rolls.

men are called "the burgesses of Cirencester," though the town is not termed a borough.[1] However, it would have been fatal to him, so he steadily refused to produce any such charter, alleging that the foundation was before memory, and therefore that the charter of foundation by Henry I. was impertinent to the plea. The case was adjourned several times, was transferred from the Chancery to the King's Bench, and at last, as the abbot was so contumacious, a writ of distraint was issued against him to which he took exception as invalid; the writ did not agree with the record—one said *Cirencester*, the other *Circestre*. Before the case came on again the abbot had compounded with the King for £300, and had got a writ of supersedeas,[2] in which the King said he had been fully informed by the abbot and was perfectly satisfied. He also pardoned him all the trespasses complained of, and gave him a fresh charter confirming his old franchises and settling some points, unmentioned before, in his favour.[3]

As the pleadings were not carried further than is mentioned above, and no judicial decision was given, we are left to form our own judgment on the merits of the case. In early days, no doubt, as being a walled town, Cirencester would have been termed a "burh," though there is no instance to produce of it; the name alone being used in the old English Chronicle, and in the one charter where it is mentioned, it is termed a royal town.[4] This being so, the title of borough might well attach to it, in common parlance, till a period of stricter definition; but in the later definite sense, of a town with franchises, where the townsmen had the jurisdiction within the limits of the town, Cirencester never was a "borough." Domesday knows it not as such, and the townsmen were never able to establish their claim. During the twelfth century there was some uncertainty as to phraseology. Besides the charter of Henry I. with the title of burgesses, the word *borough* appears in the charter of Richard I., confirmed by John, in the phrase "inside and outside the borough," when the King granted his extensive manorial rights to the abbot.[5]

[1] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 17 a. [2] Close Roll, 17 Edw. III.
[3] Cart. 17 Edw. III. 13. [4] Hist. Mon. de Abingdon, i., 368-378.
[5] Cart. Antiq. S. 12, Cart. 1 John.

Henry II., on the other hand, both in his writ to the provost of Cirencester, and in his letter of protection for the townsmen,[1] speaks of the "town" and "men" of Cirencester; and Richard, similarly, in his writ to the men of Cirencester, telling them that he had sold them to the abbot, and bidding them be obedient to him, uses the word "town."[2] There however, in Richard's charter, was the word "borough," and Abbot Walter had known how to make use of it. In the Assize Roll, 5 Henry III.,[3] is the record of a suit before the King's justices, brought by Anselm the son of Anselm against Richard Noel, for unjustly disseizing him of his free tenement in Cirencester. Noel averred that the tenement was in villeinage on the ancient demesne of the crown, where no assize lies, and therefore the King's justices could not take cognizance of the suit. Thereupon the abbot produced Richard's charter, and pointed out the word "borough"; moreover, in his presence, evidence was given that that manor was a borough, and so the point of law was decided against Noel. Anselm, however, did not gain much by having his case tried before the King's justices, for the Cirencester jury being called on for their declaration of fact, said that Anselm never had any possession in the land under dispute, nor had he ever been disseized by Richard Noel. What motive the abbot had for trying, in this instance, to make out that Cirencester was a borough does not appear; but it was a claim which, with its accompanying liberties, he would suffer no one else to make. Four years later he successfully resisted the complaint of the townsmen with regard to their villein services, as has already been mentioned; and three years later still we find him complaining to the King that several tenants on the manor were claiming to have their suits concerning land tried in the King's courts, instead of bringing them into the court of the manor, whereupon the King issued his writ enjoining that thenceforward all suits concerning land in Cirencester should be tried in the abbot's court, according to the custom of the other manors of the King's demesne in England, as had always been done while the Kings of England held that manor in their own

[1] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 21 b., 22 a.

[2] Reg. Abb. Cir. A. 22 b.

[3] m. 1, dors.

hands.[1] Abbot Walter had found that the word "borough" was a weapon which might be turned against himself, and he hastened to crush all rising hopes of liberty which might found themselves upon that word, and from that time forth the abbots seem to have been very careful to avoid any mention of it. With regard to the extracts from the Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century quoted by the King's Attorney—and he might have instanced in addition Rolls of the reign of Hen. II.[2]—especially that Roll of 1 John which speaks both of a township and a borough as though co-existing, they are all in entries concerning tallage, and I think the phraseology may be explained by the help of an inquisition taken in 1356, in a suit respecting tallage at Cirencester.[3] The jury then declared that in 1313—for the matter at issue had reference to that year—the manor and town of Cirencester were one; that there were two free tenants, Erchebald and de Pirie; that besides these all the tenants were sokemen and tenants of the abbey, except twenty-eight men tenants under the Priors of Llanthony, Bradenstoke, and St. John of Jerusalem, or under Sir R. Corbet; that the abbots had never levied tallage of any but their own tenants, and that these tenants of other lords were always tallaged in the general taxing. This same rule would also have held good in the earlier days, before King John granted quittance of tallage to the abbey; ancient demesne of the crown was always taxed separately and at a higher rate than the rest of the country. It may well be, therefore, that by the tallage of the "township" is meant the tallage of those tenants therein who did not hold of the manor of ancient demesne, and that the tallage of the "borough" refers to the tallage of the tenants upon the ancient royal manor. In the thirteenth century, after John had granted quittance of tallage to the abbots, so that they retained the tallage of the tenants of the manor to their own use, the constant phrase in the Pipe Rolls is "township."

The canons of the abbey were of course jubilant at the result of the suit. "There had been," they said, "certain wicked and envious ones, who had at the instigation of the devil found fault

[1] Close Roll, 12 Hen. III., 3. [2] Pipe Roll, 33 & 34 Hen. II.

[3] Cir. Abb. Reg. A. 46 b. Exchcq. Mem. Roll, Mich. 16 Edw. III.

with and impeached the chartered and customary rights of the abbey. But Abbot Hereward had with great diligence and trouble, and by means of lavish expenses on his own part, procured a confirmation of these rights, and likewise a clear declaration of certain matters not contained in their charter of foundation, which some persons thought to be doubtful and obscure."[1]

But however much the canons may have rejoiced, it was no pleasant result for the townsfolk. They had attacked and exasperated their lord, and had got nothing by it but neglect from the King and ill-will from the abbot: their grievances rankled in their mind, while they were more completely under the power of the abbot than before, as regards anything that could be brought under the head of manorial rights. Their remedy was to have a common point of interest in something that could not be brought under the manor, and they found this in a guild. The foundation of the great Trinity Guild was ascribed, in the official return made in Richard II.'s reign, to the days of his grandfather, Edward III.[2] and we shall possibly not be far wrong in attributing the zeal of the townsmen for this new social and religious association, in a measure, to their desire to be in something independent of the abbot, and to have their meetings, if only half-yearly, under the guise of feasts without the necessary presence of the abbot's bailiff as their head. In other respects they kept quiet, for all that as yet appears. The black death, however, with the consequent disturbance of the labour market, in some way affected the manor here with regard to the maintenance of the still remaining services at hay-time and harvest-tide. In the dearth of labour that prevailed the abbot may have felt it necessary to be stricter than ever about exacting the labour, yet uncommuted for rent, that was due in hay and harvest time, while that same dearth of labour would have made it difficult to provide the labour, and may have rendered necessary, in some cases, that personal service so irksome to a trading community. At any rate, in 1370 the abbot thought it necessary to obtain under the great seal an exemplification of

[1] Worcester Reg. Bp. Wolston de Braunsford, 109 b.

[2] Chancery Misc. Rolls, Guilds and Fraternities' Returns, 1-10.

the record of 1225,[1] in which the services of the tenants of the manor were defined, and in enrolling it in their cartulary special attention was drawn by a finger pointing to the clause, declaring the universal custom of fenesones and bederipes.[2]

In 1400, however, the townsmen saw their opportunity and seized it instantly. At the very beginning of that year the conspiracy against Henry IV. broke out, and was put down by the men of Cirencester with a strong hand; the Earls of Salisbury and Kent being beheaded in the market-place without form of trial, and their heads sent to the King at Oxford, along with certain prisoners taken alive, as Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Bennet Cely and others. This was on the 7th of January, and elated by the success of their opposition to these great Earls, and by the power which they found themselves possessed of, they were bold enough to determine that they would resist the abbot, the lord of the manor, and no longer submit to the old customs which were become intolerable to them. So from the following Monday[3] they set up for themselves, bound themselves by a common oath to resist, and withdrew their services. The abbot would have liked to coerce them, but the men had learned to use their arms, and not to be afraid of great men, and so the abbot was helpless, and was obliged to look on and see the corn no longer brought to his mills to be ground, for at once on the Tuesday, the men began to send it to Stratton Mill. They brewed and sold their beer too, and paid the abbot no stakepenny. Nor were the men content with this; their grievances had evidently been rankling in their minds ever since their last complaint to the crown in 1343, when the matters that touched them personally had been disregarded; and they thought that the present was a favourable opportunity for pressing their complaints once more, with a better chance of being attended to. Not merely had they established a claim upon the King's gratitude, but Henry IV. was hailed at the beginning of his reign as the deliverer from the tyranny of Richard II. and his great men, and was accordingly enthusiastically welcomed by the

[1] Pat. 43 Edw. III., ii. 14. [2] Cir. Abb. Reg. A. 12 a.

[3] Chancery County Placita, 47, A. The whole detail of the quarrel is taken from the pleadings in this suit.

common people. "God hath the chose in comfort of ous alle," sang Gower.[1] Accordingly they raised a fund by common taxation among themselves, which in the end amounted to £600, for the support of their cause, and at once made a complaint to the King against the abbot, concerning his usurpations. The King had already granted to J. Cosyn, the bailiff of the town, an annuity for life of 100 marcs, and had paid all the expenses incurred by the townsmen in resisting the Earls, and in forwarding their heads, and escorting the prisoners to Oxford and London.[2] Now he made the men a grant of four does, in season, from the forest of Braden, with a hogshead of wine from Bristol year by year; and to the women six bucks and a hogshead of wine a year, to be continued during his pleasure.[3] Better still, the King issued his writ to the sheriff bidding him make inquisition into the matter of these complaints.

The sheriff accordingly came to Cirencester after Easter, when five juries of twelve men from the town and neighbourhood were empannelled, who all agreed in a series of accusations against the abbot.[4] The old stories of 1343, about the usurpations against the King and the town, about the charter of franchises, and the provost's court were told over again, but with fresh detail. The pretended charter was not set forth in full as before, but it was declared that before and after Henry I. the town of Cirencester had been a township by itself, and not parcel of the manor of Cirencester, the liberties claimed under the charter were recited, and it was alleged that the townsmen had enjoyed these liberties from the time of Henry I., until in 10 John Abbot Hugh[5] had constrained the townsmen to perform villein services, like the tenants of the manor of Berton near Cirencester, he claiming the town as parcel of the manor of Berton. This was a new plea. The manor of Berton is, presumably, another name for the manor of Oakley, for at the dissolution of the monastery the Barton Grange, and the

[1] Wright's Political Songs, ii., 4.

[2] Issue Roll of the Exchequer, Easter and Mich., 1 Hen. IV.

[3] Pat. 1 Hen. IV., 8, 39. [4] Inq. a.q.d. 1 Hen. IV., 36.

[5] The memory of the townsmen was at fault in sundry matters contained in this accusation. Abbot Hugh was not elected till 15 Henry III. Rot. Claus. 15 Henry. III. 19.

capital messuage of the manor of Oakley were joined in one phrase, and granted along with Barton field, Okeley field, &c. In 1333 some land at Minety is described as parcel of the manor of the Berton, near Cirencester.[1] But Minety was a member of the manor of Cirencester. It may be that both manors, Cirencester and Oakley, or Barton, being vested in the canons, and the customs being identical, they were treated occasionally as one, and loosely spoken of now under one name, now under another. This plea looks like an ingenious attempt by the townsmen to take advantage of some loose phraseology, which former abbots had allowed to pass in grants to themselves, and to argue from such language that Cirencester had been originally a borough, and the townsmen free burgesses: of course it failed. Then besides these older complaints, fresh ones were added. The abbots misused their power of imprisonment and distraint, prisoners being improperly detained at Cirencester when they ought to have been sent to Gloucester for trial, and the abbots refusing to release and return the cattle of men accused of felony, when the men had been tried and acquitted, even though they brought the warrant of the King's justices; there was no justice to be had in the abbot's courts, or at the hand of the abbot's officers; for it was impossible to bring any suit into those courts, but it affected some retainer or hanger-on of the abbot or his men, and then the abbot's officers interfered in the choosing of the panel, and favour was shewn and justice not done. Nor was crime properly repressed; no bakers were ever pilloried even though they were convicted for the third, fourth, or fifth time of giving short weight or selling bad bread, but were always set free on paying a small fine to the abbots; and the abbot's officers refused to imprison anyone arrested by the constables on suspicion of felony, only detaining those caught in the act, and thus many notorious felons were allowed to go free, and were the bolder to go on robbing. Moreover the abbot vexed all the suitors to the hundred courts within his liberties, for whereas the hundred courts ought to be held in each hundred in the ancient customary place every three

[1] Origin. 6 Edw. III.

weeks, the abbots were wont to make the men come from all round to Cirencester to one court.[1]

No immediate action seems to have been taken by the crown upon the return of this inquisition. The King no doubt was in a difficulty: he would have liked to please the townsmen, and as they gave the names and details in the case of fresh articles of complaint, it may well be that there was a deal of truth in that part of their case, so that a sharp monition to the abbot to behave himself could easily have been sent, but what the Cirencester folk wanted especially was to be altogether free of the abbot's lordship; venison and wine were good things and worth having, but liberty was better still. The King's attorney, however, must have seen at once that the liberties claimed under the pretended charter were

[1] The places of meeting for the half-yearly view of Frank-pledge in each hundred were fixed in very early days, the hundreds being generally named from those places which were fairly central to the hundred, and easy of general access with roads or tracks meeting there; though now owing to the alteration of lines of communication it does not always at first sight appear why the spot was so chosen. The meeting-places named in the inquisition are as follows;—

The hundred of Bradley was held at the cross by Stowell, *i.e.*, at the intersection of the Fosse Road and the ancient Saltway.

The hundred of Bryghtwoleysberg,—Britwoleslewe in the Hundred Rolls of 4 Edw. I.; Hlaw or Hlew, is a mound—was held at la Berge near Hatherop, *i.e.*, at the spot known in that neighbourhood as Barrow Elm, though the elm was blown down some years ago, the Barrow being by the side of the Icknield way near its intersection with the Saltway.

The hundred of Crowthorne was held at a certain ash-tree near Stratton, which has, of course, disappeared long ago; but the name of the Court-hill still attaches to the rising ground between the Gloucester and Daglingworth Roads, from whence there were cross roads to Baunton and Coates.

The hundred of Langtre was held at Chevenage Down, where a barn is still called Longtree Barn, on the road half-way between Tetbury and Minchinhampton, and near its intersection with the line of the old Roman road from Cirencester to the Severn at Aust.

The hundred of Respegate, at the bush near Maresden, *i.e.*, by the present Rapsgate farm; for it must be remembered that the greater part of the present road from Cirencester to Cheltenham up the valley of the Churn is modern, made less than sixty years ago, and that formerly the old lines of communication passed over the hills by Rapsgate.

No place is named for the hundred of Bisley, for, though one of the Seven Hundreds, it was farmed out by the abbots, and the jurisdiction, therefore, not being in their own hands, it did not come within the purview of the complainants in 1 Hen. IV.

utterly inconsistent with the inquisition entered in 1225 on the King's Bench Roll. At any rate the King temporised. Hay-time came and harvest-tide, and the men utterly refused to go into the meadows and fields to gather in the abbot's hay and corn, and when later on in the year, the abbot attempted to bring the townsmen under control again, they appealed to the King, who directed his Chancellor, Sir John Searle, to issue a writ under the great seal to the abbot, bidding him not molest the King's liegemen of Cirencester, but suffer the town to be of free condition until the next parliament.[1] Parliament met the following January and sat till March 10, but nothing seems to have been done there. The question, however, was brought before the council, and on March 13 the matter in debate between the abbot and the people of Cirencester was adjourned till after Easter.[2] What was settled then we have no means of knowing, for there is no further record on the subject in those minutes of the council, which are still in existence. Possibly no definite decision was ever come to by the King; for Henry IV. was not a strong ruler, and it is clear that even if the decision was given in favour of the abbot, there was no attempt on the part of the King to support him, for the townsfolk still continued to withhold their services, not attending even the half-yearly halimot. The abbot found that favour might be shewn and justice denied in other courts besides his own.

So matters continued for the next two years, when the townsmen petitioned the King to grant them permission to establish a guild-merchant with all the usual franchises pertaining thereto, as control of markets, with a court for recovery of debts according to the statute of Acton Burnell, liberty to elect a master and other officers of the guild, and that all members of the guild should be quit of doing suits in the county or hundred courts. Upon this a writ of inquisition was issued to the sheriff, and an inquisition was taken at Gloucester at the end of April, 1403, on the oath of twelve Knights and gentlemen of the county, who told a very

[1] Chancery Letters Missive. First General Report of Commissioners of Public Records, i., 191.

[2] Acts of Privy Council, 2 Hen. IV., i., 126.

different tale to that of the townsmen.[1] They recited the ancient grants of the manor and hundreds from the crown to the abbots, upon a fee-farm rent of £30; and as, although Edward I. had granted this fee-farm rent to the Earls of Kent, the reversion of it was in the King, they said it would be to the disherison of the Crown to grant the men the franchise they asked for, of exemption from the hundred courts. They then set out the grants made to the abbots by different Kings of markets and fairs, the abbots' control of fairs and markets with their courts of pipowder[2] for recovery of debts, and declared that it would be to the great prejudice of the tenants of other lords in Cirencester, as well as other merchants, and people passing through Cirencester, if the King were to grant the request of the townsmen, and so in future everyone should be at the mercy of the ordinances which the townsmen might make under colour of such a grant. How, after this return, the King consented to act so illegally as to do what he was asked to do, does not appear; for, of course, he had no right to make a present to the townsmen of any privileges contrary to the old manorial rights, which the abbots had so long enjoyed by grant from the Crown. He was in great want of money, and the townsmen may have offered him a considerable sum; or, as his popularity was waning and the Percies were plotting against him, he may have thought it advisable to secure the goodwill of the townsmen: at any rate, just before he started to meet his army to fight against Hotspur, the King, on July 14th, 1403, gave the men of Cirencester a charter by which he granted to them everything they asked for, so that henceforward under the grant the town would, in a measure, become a free town, exempt in a great degree certainly as regards trade, from the jurisdiction of the abbot and his officials, and instead thereof be under the governance of the master and officials of the guild-merchant.[3] The abbot had to submit: things were not much worse than they were before; the men had already been allowed to take the matter

[1] Inq. a.q.d., 4 Hen. IV., 13.

[2] *Piépoudré* or *de pede pulverisato* i.e. *dustyfoot*. The court was so called because, originally, disputants came before it straight out of the market or fair.

[3] Reg. Abb. Cir. A., 11, b.

pretty much into their own hands; this illegal grant could only last the King's lifetime; when his influence was gone the courts of law would doubtless do justice, and so the abbot waited for better times. In the meanwhile the townsmen were triumphant: they established their guild-merchant, set up their own court of pipowder for the settlement of trade disputes, and for the recovery of debts, levied fines there for their own use, assumed and maintained the control of the trade of the town with its markets and fairs, and paid neither stallage nor toll to the abbot.[1]

The King's grant had not touched the question of the ordinary manorial rights of the abbot as lord of the manor of Cirencester, but for all that the men still continued to withhold all services, and did not attend the manorial courts. But after eight years they seem to have found out that there were disadvantages in the state of things which they had established. They could control the markets and keep order there under their guild-charter, but that gave no power to govern the town in other matters; and as the ordinary police of the town took its origin from the lord's halimot court, it may well have been the feeling of a need for better order in the town, which made the men so far return to their allegiance as to attend the halimot again in 1409. The abbot, however, was not altogether idle in the matter. He had kept quiet for some years, but in 1408 he obtained an ample confirmation of all his lands, manors, and liberties, as held by ancient charters, and as confirmed to him lately by Richard II.[2]; and in the following year he got a confirmation of the charters granted by John and Henry III. for two fairs.[7] It is possible that this action of the abbot, which looked like the preliminary to a legal assertion of his rights, may have influenced the men; but they would not give way any further than that. They still continued to withhold the services and grind their corn at Stratton Mill; and when in 1413, early in March, the King being then on his death-bed, the abbot made another attempt to reduce the men to obedience by distraining upon them, there was a riot, and his officers were attacked and beaten and dangerously wounded.

[1] County Placita, Gloucestershire, 47, B.

[2] Pat. 9 Hen. IV., i. 24. [3] Pat. 10 Hen. IV., i 25.

Henry IV. died on 20th March, 1413, and with the accession of Henry V. a new order of things began to be brought in, as regards the men of Cirencester and their relation to the abbot. The parliament met on 15th May, and the commons were not long before they spoke their mind very freely to the new King, as to the weakness of his father's administration. On 22nd May they reminded the King how often in his father's days they had prayed that there might be good governance in the land, (*i.e.*, as they explained, due obedience enforced to the laws of the realm) and their requests had been granted; whereas the young King himself could tell how far these promises had been kept. They prayed him, therefore, as God had given him great sense and many other virtues, that he would henceforth see that good governance was maintained; and especially they begged him to consider the riot lately made against the abbot of Cirencester and his house, which was of royal foundation.[1] The good days of the men of Cirencester were at an end: now came the abbot's turn. He obtained on June 5 a fresh exemplification of the record of 1225, defining the services of the dwellers on the manor[2]; and on June 12 the townsmen thought it best to return once more to their ancient obedience to the abbot. But this was not enough, and the abbot impleaded thirty-one tenants of customary tenements for withdrawing their services during these thirteen years, and seventy-four dwellers in the town for aiding and abetting them, damages being laid at £6000. The cause was tried at Gloucester, before Chief Justice Hankford and Thomas Fitznicoll, when the abbot having set forth a statement of his claims of right by old charters, and told the story of the thirteen years' rebellion, the defendants, with the exception of one man who declared that he was in no ways culpable, owned that they had no defence to make, and all pleaded guilty. A jury of twenty-four Knights and others of the neighbourhood of Cirencester was then empannelled, which acquitted the one man, and assessed the damages due from the rest to the abbot at £8000. Judgment was deferred until the first Monday in August, when the parties were ordered to appear at Cirencester before the King's justices. When the day came judgment was given to the

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 4, b. [2] Pat. 1 Hen. V., i. 14.

effect, that the abbot should recover the £6000 damages which he had claimed, but should not receive the additional £2000 awarded by the jury. As to the hundred and four men who had been convicted they were ordered into custody, whereupon the abbot said with respect to seven of the men he was not anxious to push matters further; with regard to the others, with the abbot's consent, they made a fine to the King. Accordingly, £20 having been paid by them, the King did on 15th February, 1414, by patent grant by name[1] to all the men who had been convicted, a general pardon of their past trangressions.[2] The obnoxious guild-merchant with its court, however, still continued, for it was established by royal charter, and under this the men still claimed control of the trade of the town, and that all suits connected with apprenticeships and trade should be decided in the guild court. But four years after, early in 1418, the abbot instituted another suit in Chancery and, having proved his ancient rights by royal charter, prayed that the charter for a guild-merchant might be annulled and revoked. In reply the townsmen did not attempt to deny any of the matters alleged by the abbot as to his rights, but took their stand upon the charter granted to them by Henry IV., whereupon the court ordered that charter to be altogether annulled, as being in derogation of the previously existing rights of the abbot.[3]

The townsmen had to make the best they could of their failure to establish Cirencester as a free town. Neither by their own resistance, nor by grant from the King was there any hope of escaping from the villein condition under their lord, which attached to all the dwellers on the manor; and so in 1477, when the inhabitants petitioned the parliament for power to levy money by rate among themselves, for the purpose of paving the town, it was distinctly declared that the town was not incorporate.[4]

[1] It may be interesting to note the relative proportion of the Christian names.

41 John	16 William	14 Thomas	10 Robert	6 Richard
5 Henry	5 Walter	2 Nicholas	1 David	1 Edward
1 James	1 Ralph	1 Stephen		

[2] Pat. 1 Hen. V., v. 9.

[3] Chancery County Placita, Gloucestershire, 47, B.

[4] Rot. Parl. vi. 180, a. An earlier Paviage Grant Pat, 15 Edw. II., i. 6, made by that King in 1321, when he kept Christmas at Cirencester, fixes

But during the next hundred and thirty years a still further commutation of the remaining villein services for an increased money rent took place. It does not appear that there was any general re-arrangement at one time, but rather that a fresh arrangement was made in individual instances, and so the tenure of one after another of the customary tenants lifted out of the condition of villeinage. By the time of the dissolution of the monastery the change had been completed; the customary tenants of Cirencester had become simply payers of rent, with no obligation of any kind to provide labour for the lord of the manor, and the tenure was ordinary copy-hold by copy of court roll.[1]

So far the conditions of life were improved; but the lord's control of the town and its markets and fairs, with the subjection

certain tolls that may be taken for that purpose during three years on merchandise brought to the town, and is interesting as shewing in what articles trade was then carried on.

The following list is compiled from the grant:

Corn	Wine	Hide or Skins	Alum
Bean Meal	Ale	of Hare	Copperas
Pea Meal	Oil	Rabbit	Argayle
Flesh, fresh & salt	Horses	Fox	Verdigris
Bacon	Mares	Dog	Cloth
Cheese	Oxen	Iron	Linen
Butter	Cows	Lead	Canvas
Lard	Sheep	Tin	Irish Cloth
Salmon, fresh	Goats	Copper	Galewhych
and salt	Pigs	Steel	Warchsted
Cod	Hides or Skins	Brass	Cloth with Gold
Conger	of Horse	Roof Nails	of Samite
Eels	Mare	Cart Nails	—— Diaper
Lampreys before	Ox	Clout Nails	—— Bandekyn
Easter	Cow	Other Nails	—— of Silk
Herrings	Sheep	Horseshoes	—— of Silk and
Aberdeen Fish	Goat	Caldrons & Pots	Gold
Stock Fish	Stag	Coal	Hemp
Other Sea Fish	Doe	Wood	Wool
Salt	Lamb	Faggots	Wayde
Honey	Kid	Tan	Fleeces

In the above-mentioned pardon, men are described as of the following trades:

Webbe, *i.e.* Weaver	Draper	Taylor	Glover
Hosier	Dyer	Smith	Ironmonger
Brazier	Coryour, *i.e.* Currier	Saddler	Spurrier

[1] Ministers' Accounts, 31-2 Hen. VIII. 94.

to the lord's bailiff, was still felt as a grievance, and shortly before the dissolution a determined attempt[1] was made to have the bailiff, in future, elected yearly, and that he should be removable. John George, then bailiff, who had held the office for about fourteen years, was presumably obnoxious to the townsmen, for Abbot Blake removed him and appointed Robert Strange, the foreman of the leet jury, who had been moving in the matter, bailiff in his place. But the abbot did not give up his rights, or alter the conditions of tenure of the bailywick, and Mr. Robert Strange continued to hold his office for nearly fifty years, and when he was eighty-five years old he gave evidence concerning the ancient custom. For the townsmen had not forgotten the story of the days of Henry IV., and another attempt was made in Elizabeth's reign to set up the guild. Though annulled by the Court of Chancery, the charter for the guild-merchant had apparently not been voided on the Roll, and some of the townsfolk had obtained an exemplification of the charter from the Crown Office, and tried to set up the guild once more. Of course Sir J. Danvers, then lord of the manor, would not submit to that, and in June, 1582, he preferred a bill of complaint in the Exchequer against Giles Selwyn and others, to the number of forty.[2] He said that they had collected huge sums of money, and persuaded the people of the town to give largely, promising that all, who thus contributed, should be incorporated into companies as, of mercers, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, &c., with power to make rules for trade, and to choose a master and other governors and officers to govern the town; and that such as did not agree and submit should not be allowed to exercise their manual services, trades, or callings within the town, and all strangers not inhabitants should be excluded from exercising their occupation and selling, &c., within the said town. All this he alleged was to the great disquietude of the town, and neighbourhood of the Seven Hundreds, and the outrage of the people who were seduced by Selwyn and his accomplices was such, that the bailiff and other officers were resisted in doing their duty, and could not execute

[1] Exchequer Special Commission, Eliz. 959.

[2] Exchequer Bills and Answers, 24 Eliz. 46.

their office without great danger and hurt of their bodies and peril of their lives. G. Selwyn replied by alleging the charter of Henry IV., of which he had obtained an exemplification under the great seal, and which he was advised was valid as having been confirmed by sundry general Acts of Parliament. For the expense of this exemplification a sum of £15 had been subscribed, but that was all, and as to the riot he denied it. To this Sir John said in answer that, as upon the original petition of the townsmen in the reign of Henry IV., there had been an inquisition a.q.d. to shew what prejudice and damage would arise to the King and abbot by such a charter, he did not believe that such an illegal grant was ever made, and it had certainly not been put in execution. Upon this the court ordered an inquisition which, being held at Cirencester, certain influential persons gave evidence as to the condition of the town, the custom of the manor, and the abbot's appointment of the bailiff, and the governance of the town.[1] In the end the court declared that the letters patent of Henry IV. had been granted upon an untrue suggestion, and were bad in law as contravening the abbot's manorial rights under several royal charters of earlier date, and, moreover, had, by a judgment given 5 Hen. V., been repealed and made frustrate, and the original letters patent yielded up and cancelled; so Sir J. Danvers should enjoy his manorial rights as the abbot had had them before the dissolution. As to Giles Selwyn and his confederates, they must give up their copy of the guild-charter to be cancelled, and to prevent their ever afterwards claiming any rights under it, they were openly in some public place in Cirencester, before Easter, to submit themselves to Sir J. Danvers, and pay him a fine of 20 marcs. And "for the better satisfying of the inhabitants, and better avoyding of such-like unlawful assemblies, conventicles, and other disorders, mutynes and other unlawful gatherings, and such other dangerous attempts as have of late been very disorderly attempted, in that behalf" this decree was ordered to be read in church, and in the market on some open market-day.[2] A couple of sheets of the depositions before the commission of enquiry are

[1] Special Commissions, Eliz. 884, 885, 959.

[2] Exchequer Decrees and Orders, Hilary 25 Eliz., Vol. x. f. 7.

still extant, containing the depositions of three persons and the name of the fourth, to the following effect:—"The bailiff appointed by the lord of the manor is the head officer under the steward of the town, with two serjeants attending upon him bearing maces before him upon great occasions and all festival days, and the bailiff and those who have served the office of bailiff, with their wives, are wont to wear scarlet gowns on Sundays and festival days. There are also two constables, two cardeners, two ale-tasters, two searchers of hides and tallow, two sealers of leather, and two water-bailiffs, besides two wardsmen in each of the streets, or wards. The bailiff and constable associated with some of the best part of the town, have sometimes called a hall and heard and determined causes there, and did govern and rule the town in good sort and civil manner." The two first witnesses were Robert Strange, Esq., then aged eighty-five, who had been bailiff for more than forty years since his appointment by Abbot Blake, and Christopher George, Esq., aged fifty-five, son of John George the previous bailiff. Naturally they were against this attempt to set up the guild again. Mr. Strange said, "If there hathe ben anie lesse familiaritie or societie or conference used amongst the inhabitants there than heretofore hath ben yt hath risen by the occasion of Selwyn and his complices being disturbers of the quiet government of the town." Mr. George said, "If the charter should take place it would be rather prejudicial and hurtful to the town than do good, for in his meynt it wold be a great decay unto the market, also it wold be a cause that those inhabitants of the town as mercers, drapers, tanners, &c., wold make the price of their wares at their own pleasure. Also having no land to the maintenance of the said guild he supposeth that there wold be laid upon the inhabitants such taxation and impositions for the maintenance hereof more than they, as he thinketh, are able to do or maintain." The third witness, Thomas Marshall, of Poulton, gentleman, aged sixty-six, had no opinion to offer as to the result of establishing the guild, but he was clear that hitherto it had been "lawful for anyone to bring anything to market without let or molestation of any of the inhabitants or any other, and that the inhabitants of Cirencester have had no liberty of the

market of wooll and yarn other the foreigners, but that one of the serjeants had it and was accomptant unto the abbot for it." It is a pity that the remaining depositions have perished. One would like to have heard what was the opinion held about the matter by those handicraftsmen and others who were anxious to have the guild established. For it is evident they were dissatisfied with this crushing of their desire for liberty to regulate their trades, and were not content to let the matter rest. Twelve years later, in 1595, some of the townsmen through the interest of Mr. Rob. Fermor managed to get another exemplification of Henry IV.'s charter, and even obtained a confirmation of it by Queen Elizabeth, on June 21.[1] They were not, however, allowed to make much use of it. In October, upon an affidavit that these men had disobeyed the decree of 1583, they were attached to appear in the Court of Exchequer, and ordered to give up to the court the exemplification and confirmation to be kept till further order; and in Easter Term, 1596, as the defendants could shew no cause why the charter should not be cancelled, it was ordered that the decree of 1583 should stand, and the charter should remain in the hands of the Remembrancer; but any of the liegemen of Cirencester might prefer a bill into the court concerning any of the liberties named in the pretended patent, as long as such claim was not prejudicial to the liberties of Sir J. Danvers: and if hereafter any one should attempt to disobey this decree, the court, upon affidavit, would take order for the payment of good costs to the lord of the manor.[2] The contest which had been going on in one shape or another for 440 years between the townsmen and their lord, now came to an end: this definitely settled the question, and no further attempt was made to upset the long established rights of the lord of the manor.

Many alterations have been made since that day by statute. The old Hundred Court was replaced by a Court of Requests, established by private Act of Parliament in 1792, at the instance of Earl Bathurst, the lord of the manor; and that in turn has been superseded by the County Court established under a general

[1] Confirmation Roll, 31-7 Eliz.

[2] Exchequer Decrees and Orders, Mich. 38 Eliz. Vol. 23.

Act of Parliament. The establishment of the County Police under a general Act has done away with the lord's exclusive right to execute writs of the sheriff and justices in Cirencester, as one of the Seven Hundreds. Under a private Act passed in 1825, with consent of the lord of the manor, certain representatives of property and other inhabitants are joined with him and his officials as commissioners to govern the town in respect of lighting, paving, sewerage, &c., and to levy rates for the purpose. Under other general Acts, a Poor Law Board, a Burial Board, and a School Board have also been established with similar powers. Yet the essential relation of the town to the lord of the manor remains unchanged. The fairs and markets are his with their profits, and though the active exercise of some of the old customs has become obsolete, the old forms are still maintained. At the lord's court leet, held by his steward, are annually appointed the constables and other officers as of old; his bailiff is the official head of the town, the summoner and chairman of a town-meeting, and the returning officer of the parliamentary borough.

All these alterations, however, which have been brought about by the lapse of time and change of thought and development of the national life, have rendered any renewal of the old strife impossible. In that respect there has been peace for nearly 300 years. Any tiffs in later times have arisen out of the newer condition of the town as a parliamentary borough, which first began in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and in which the lord of the manor, as such, had no rights. It was a little too much when, in 1754, the lord tried to force two of his sons together on the town as members, and having failed in this revenged himself by getting the appointment of the Grammar School master taken out of the hands of the chief people of the town,[4] and claimed by the Crown. It was rather undutiful at another time in the town not even to elect one friend of the lord as member. But these were only the ordinary incidents of political life in a small borough. For a long time the lord of the manor has been the town's good friend, the originator or furtherer of everything that might contribute to the welfare of the town; which has had also for many a year to thank Earl Bathurst for all the convenience and pleasure that is summed up in the permitted free use for every purpose of Oakley Park.

[1] Kilner MSS.

ON FEUDAL AND COMPULSORY KNIGHTHOOD.

By SIR JOHN MACLEAN, F.S.A., &c.

The question of Obligatory Knighthood is one of no little difficulty, and neither the space nor the time at our disposal will allow us to attempt to do justice to it, nevertheless, we feel constrained to make a few remarks, in laying before our readers a list of those gentlemen and others of the County of Gloucester, who, possessing freehold lands of the annual value of £40 or upwards, and not being already knighted, according to custom, had been summoned on the Coronation of Charles I. to appear and take up the Order, and not having appeared had been required to compound for their default.

From time immemorial until a comparatively recent date it was obligatory upon the owner of an estate of a certain value held by military service to procure himself to be made a Knight. Some have contended that this principle obtained in England before the Norman Conquest, and we find Knights mentioned in Saxon times: *e.g.* in a charter of Kenulph, King of Mercia, dated in the year 806, the King confirms to the Abbey of Croyland, "eleemosynam quam Algarus miles etiam dudum meus pedit illis in Baston et Repingale"[1] and other instances may be cited. But without pressing this, Knighthood became common under the feudal system introduced by the Norman Kings, and it is remarkable that a Knight's fee was equivalent to the five hides of land, the possession of which entitled a Saxon freeman to claim the privileges of a Thane, and naturally the transfer of the Saxon estate to the Norman retainer resolved itself into the feudal estate of a Knight, who, in respect thereto under the feudal system was, when required by his lord, bound to render personal service with horse and arms and a mounted attendant for forty days at his own charges. Thus the Knight's fee (feodum unius militis), though

[1] Ingulphus, pp. 854, 857.

not distinctly defined during the 11th century became for many centuries the standard measure of feudal obligation. The service of a tenant was reckoned by so many Knights' fees and even fractions of fees, the service for the latter being in proportion to the number of days due for the full fee. In the 12th Henry II. (1166) all tenants holding of the King *in capite* were required to certify into the exchequer the number of fees held by them and under them, specifying whether of the old feoffment, that is before the close of the reign of Henry I., or the new feoffment. The sum of these returns will give, approximately, the whole number of fees into which England was at that time divided, though it must be borne in mind that the fees of the Earl of Moreton, for some cause not known to us, are described as *small fees*, three of them being only equal to two ordinary fees.

There can be no doubt that in very early times the tenants of Knights' fees were actually Knights,[1] and according to the practice of the times persons of equestrian rank were, in addition to their military services required for many civil duties. In all trials at law regarding title to lands it was necessary that the jurors should be twelve Knights, and until the abolition of the precedure by Writ of Right, within our own recollection, the sheriff was obliged to summon upon the jury four lawful Knights of his county, girt[2] with swords (militis gladia cinctos) which Knights elected twelve other jurors. Most of the criminal business of the county was also conducted by knights, whilst the representatives of the counties in parliament were required to be of the Knightly order.[1]

There are no traces in early times of any pecuniary value being attached to Knight's fee. Sir Henry Spelman, however, concludes that in the time of King John it amounted to 100s., but as time progressed and money became cheaper it was increased to £10, £20, £30 and at last to £40.

The general principle was that every one holding lands by military tenure was liable to render personal service, and consequently in early times no one was summoned to take up Knighthood unless he held an entire fee ; but in the reign of Henry III.,

[1] See Madox Hist. of the Exchequer, p. 344.

[2] Blackstone's Com., Book III. cap. 23.

when the fees were already in some measure becoming broken up, the sheriffs were commanded in issuing their summonses to include persons who held only a portion of a fee, provided he held lands in socage sufficient to make up the full census of a Knight, so as to be able to support the dignity and expense of knighthood. And this would not appear to be unreasonable, for otherwise the State would lose the services due from the broken fees, but it was essential that the person held some portion of his estates by military tenure. Already, however, military services in the field were beginning to be commuted by a money payment. The feudal army was found to be difficult to manage in actual service. Powerful Barons were not only unfrequently tardy in their attendance at the muster, but unruly, and given to wrangling and disputes on questions of precedence, &c., and when the period to which their services were limited had expired, it was not always easy to make arrangements for their further continuance, so that the King preferred a full purse and the hire of mercenaries to the feudal militia. Consequently the summons to take up knighthood was as much for fiscal as for military purposes. Henry III. in order to increase the amount of his exactions, and derive more profit from the fines of defaulters, lowered the census to £15, to be derived however wholly from lands held by military service; and the privilege of conferring Knighthood, which had been formerly enjoyed by subjects, being themselves knights, was strictly limited to the King himself or to his authorised representatives.

In the earliest summonses for compulsory Knighthood, according to the feudal practice, the King conferred the honour upon his own tenants *in capite*, and the tenants' paravail received their *accolade* from their own lords, and probably the discontinuance of this practice, together with the general decay of feudal institutions, and the payment of escuage in lieu of personal service, led to the unwillingness of the minor tenants to undertake the arms of a Knight. Moreover the fees payable by a knight on his creation were of considerable amount. In these circumstances, notwithstanding every effort was made to support the system as

early as the reign of Edward I. the knightly chivalry had greatly decreased and continued to fall off in subsequent reigns.

The King's "prerogative of compelling his vassals to be knighted or to pay a fine was expressly recognised in parliament by the Statute *de militibus*, 1st Edward II., and it was exerted as an expedient for raising money by many of our best princes, particularly by Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; but yet was the occasion of heavy murmurs when exerted by Charles I. among whose many misfortunes it was, that neither himself or his people seemed to distinguish between the arbitrary stretch and the legal exercise of the prerogative. However, among the other concessions made by that unhappy Prince before the fatal recourse to arms, he agreed to divest himself of this undoubted flower of his crown, and it was accordingly abolished by Statute 16, Ch. c. 20."[1]—so says Blackstone. It has been remarked that Blackstone has fallen into an error in confining the prerogative to the *King's Vassals*, when neither Coke nor any of the later lawyers or historians so limit it, and in fact it had not been so practised after the 13th century.

There cannot be any doubt that at first the liability to take knighthood was incident only to tenants holding by military service one entire Knight's fee. We have, however, seen that subsequently it was extended to those who held lands in socage, provided they held some portion of land by military service, and that the whole value of their estate was not below what was deemed sufficient to enable them to maintain the dignity and expense of knighthood. But in process of time the dignity lost more and more of its chivalric character, and was degraded to be a means of raising money; and with a view to this object the duty came to be regarded as arising not from tenure but from allegience, and as incumbent upon all freeholders of lands of the required amount, though Lord Coke affirms, distinctly, that a socage tenant, though holding some lands by Knight's service, ought not to be made a knight;[2] nor do we suppose it was intended, unless in rare

[1] Commentaries, II. p. 69.

[2] Coke, Inst. Part II., p. 595.

exceptions, that they should be, though they might be willing and even desirous to acquire the honour. Regard was had to the fitness of the person in respect to his birth and breeding and his social position generally. It was established by our lawyers in the 15th century that "the style of a Knight is a name of dignity and of the inferior degree of nobility, and therefore a parcel of his name." We cannot therefore be surprised that many of the moneyed classes coveted the distinction, and claimed it under their summons, but were rejected because their birth and station rendered them unfit to receive the honour,—nevertheless the fine was exacted. Henry VII. rigorously exacted the fines from those who possessing the requisite qualification had not taken up their knighthood. Henry VIII. on more than one occasion, by proclamation, summoned all such to do so, as did Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, but it had now become limited to the coronation of the sovereign. The latter was notoriously illiberal in conferring honours, and consequently they became more valued, and upon the accession of James I. the number of aspirants was very great, but scarcely greater than the King was lavish in his bestowals. It is said that as many as 2323 gentlemen were admitted to the honour of chivalry during his reign in England, of whom about 900 were dubbed in the first year of his reign, and as many as 410 received the accolade on the same day (23rd July, 1603) in the garden of Whitehall. Of these we have the names, and it must be admitted, that, with few exceptions, they were the younger sons of the nobility and the principal gentry of the county. On this occasion James did not make it a matter of traffic, though doubtless some of his favourite courtiers received payment for using their influence with the King to obtain the honour, nevertheless James' profuse bestowal of the title is in strong contrast with the parsimony of his immediate predecessors. In the case of Queen Mary the number was limited to three score, and in that of her sister to thirty only, and these, irrespective of the general proclamation, were selected and had special summons.

We have now arrived at the period of the annexed list, which contains the names of the defaulters in Gloucestershire and the amounts they respectively paid as composition for their default

in not appearing to take up their knighthood at the coronation of King Charles I.

James I. died on 27th March, 1625, and Charles was immediately proclaimed King. After some delay his coronation was fixed to take place at the feast of the Purification of the B.V.M. in the following year (2nd Feb., 1626). On the 30th Dec. the Lord Keeper (Coventry) wrote to Mr. Secretary Conway reminding him that it was "usual at coronations to summon gentlemen of likelihood to come and take the degree of Knighthood, and sends a warrant to be signed by the King for that purpose similar to the one which had passed in the King's father's time"; but the writ was returned the same day with the answer "the King will not sign the writ to summon gentlemen to come up to be knighted at the coronation." The writ applied to all persons having £40 a year in land,[1] and although no reason is assigned for the King's refusal to sign it, it has been supposed, that as it was stated to be in accordance with the precedent of his father's reign, he was shocked at a proposition which appeared to him to bind him to confer the distinction of knighthood upon persons of so low a class. And it is further supposed that his objections were removed upon its being explained to him that it was one of the formalities of the coronation, and was not intended to be acted upon in its literal sense.

We do not know the precise date of the issue of the Proclamation, but it could not have been until nearly the end of January, for it was alleged afterwards by the Yorkshire defaulters that it was not published in that county until the day previous to that on which they were required to appear in London, which was the 31st, and that it was not even then stated at what place they were to "appear before the King's presence."

There was a creation of Knights of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I., but, so far as we have been able to discover no Knights Bachelor were made, and it does not seem that at this time, at least, the King had any intention of obtaining any fiscal advantage. Subsequently, however, when upon the repeated

[1] Dom. Corr. Charters, I., Vol xii. No. 89 and 90.

refusal of the House of Commons to grant any supplies to meet his very great necessities, this source of legitimate revenue, as well as others, might have been pointed out to him by his financial advisers, and it was not until the 29th May, 1628, that a Commission was issued to the Lord Treasurer and others to tax and assess fines as well for default in not obeying the summons of the first year of the reign, as for having respite from assuming the arms of Knighthood. This Commission does not appear to have been acted upon, and another Commission was issued on 28th January, 1630, and thereupon vigorous measures were instituted to make the imposition profitable. Commissioners were appointed to make reasonable composition with the persons liable to fines, which compositions were fixed at a very moderate rate, being the same amount as the same persons would have to pay upon a grant of three subsidies and-a-half. The annexed list gives the names of such persons in the county of Gloucester as agreed to compound, with the amount of their composition, but those who obstinately refused the overtures of the Commissioners fared much worse. many of them being mulcted in very heavy fines, which, according to ancient precedent, were levied by distraint. It is estimated that this exaction brought into the treasury from £100,000 to £150,000. It, however, aggravated the already unsatisfactory relations between the King and his Parliament, and upon the first meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, "Knighthood Money" formed one of the first grievances complained of, and a Bill was brought in to abolish it, to which, on the eve of his journey to Scotland, the King assented, and so ended this impost after a continuance for four centuries.

Book of Compositions for not taking the Order of Knighthood at the Coronation of King Charles I., 1630-1632.

[*Record Office, Pell Office Records. Auditor of the Receipt.*]

Gloucestershire.

	£	s.	d.
John Dowle, Esq.	25	0	0
Richard Delabere, of Southam, Esq.	25	0	0
Henry Dennys, Esq,, Sheriff	25	0	0
Benedict Hall of Newland, Esq.	50	0	0[1]

1 He probably paid double, being a papal re .

	£	s.	d.
Giles Grevill, of Charlton, R. gent.	10	0	0
John Ligon, of Arle, Esq.	10	0	0
John Jane, of Brockwire, gent.	10	0	0
John Hall of Newnham, gent.	10	0	0
Will. Monmouth, of Bicknor, gent.	10	0	0
Warren Gough of St. Bravell's, gent.	17	10	0
James Hawkins, of Little Deane, gent.	10	0	0
Thomas Dant, of Old Pen, Esq.	10	0	0
Robert Haviland, de Hawkesbury, ğ	10	0	0
Robert Ithell, de Hill infr. Hundr. de Berkley ...	10	0	0
Richard Feild, of Pakenhill, gent....	12	10	0
John Michell, of Haresfeld, gent.	10	0	0
Athanasius Elly de Redbrooke, gent.	10	0	0
Anthony Daston, of Wormington, Esq., ...	10	0	0
Anthony Lawrence de Sevenhampton, gent.	10	0	0
Robert Lawrence, of the same, gent.	10	0	0
William Norwood. of Leachampton, Esq.	52	10	0
Thomas Nicholas, of Stratton, Esq., ...	46	13	4
John Golby, of Chipping Campden, gent.	10	0	0
Jasper Eastcourte, of Radborough, gent.	11	13	4
George Minate, of Haresfelde	10	0	0
Randall Dobins, of Newent	14	0	0
Thomas Harris, of Broad Campden, ...	10	0	0
John Geringe, of Leachlade, ...	14	0	0
John Gunninge, of Bristol, for his lands in St. Bravell's ...	10	0	0
John Hopkins, of Winchcomb, gent.	10	0	0
Robert Hyron, of Westington	10	0	0
Thomas Kibble de Southeropp, gent.	10	0	0
Thomas Howse de Winson	10	0	0
John Mathewe, of the same	10	0	0
Richard Mathewe, of Southserney...	11	13	4
Tho. Loyde, of Whitenhurste, gen.	21	0	0
Richard Freeman, of Battesford	10	0	0
William James, of Kempsford	10	0	0
Richard Kibble, of Eastleach	10	0	0
Robert Hall, of Arlington	10	0	0
William Pitt, of Stoke-bishopp	14	0	0
Thomas Fifeilde, of Farmeington	11	13	4
John Horte, of Westbury	14	0	0
William Hollester, of Compton Greenefeilde	14	0	0
John Forshow, of Meysie Hampton	10	0	0
Anthony Hodges, of Bradwell	14	0	0
Giles Hiett, of Randcombe	11	13	4
Thomas Mills, of Welford	10	0	0
Tho. Loring, of Southam, gen.	10	0	0
Frauncis Izod, of Staunton	10	0	0
Edward Hooke, of Pantley	17	10	0
Tho. Holland, of Gotherington	10	0	0
Francis Heydon, of Shipton Sellers, Esq.	14	0	0
Daniell Fowler, of Stonehouse	21	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Nicholas Hickes, of Charfeild	10	0	0
Wm. Lawrence, of Shurdington, gen.	21	0	0
George Gaynnett, of the same	10	0	0
Wm. Mills, of Witcombe	10	0	0
Henry Ligon, of Upton S. Leonard's, gen.	17	0	0
James Elbridge, of Bagnorth	10	0	0
John Maddocke, of Hartpary	14	0	0
Thomas Jennings, of Shurdington	10	0	0
Robert Dobbs, of Longford	14	0	0
Jonn Mallett, of Ham	20	0	0
William Harding, of Woodmancott	20	0	0
Jeremye Jefferies, of Edgworth	15	0	0
Henry Hyett, of Rodley	15	0	0
William Jhode, ef Staunton	10	0	0
William Hyron, of Petworth	10	0	0
William Dancey, of Vley	10	0	0
William Cox, of Olveston	15	0	0
Thomas Dorney, of Vley	10	0	0
John Durham, of Willersey	10	0	0
Edward Hale, of Honnyborne	10	0	0
Miles Keene, gen.	10	0	0
William Lane, gent.	17	10	0
Richard Holland, of Longford, gen.	10	0	0
Robert Rarworth, of Twigworth, gent.	11	0	0
Richard Harmer, of Churchdowne, gent.	10	0	0
John Edwards, of Shurdington parva	10	0	0
Robert Payne, of Broothropp	10	0	0
William Purlewent, of Sandhurst, gen.	11	10	0

Sir John Tracy, Knight,
Collector.

ADDENDUM TO THE MEMOIR ON THE MANOR AND BOROUGH OF CHIPPING CAMPDEN.

By the REV. S. E. BARTLEET, M.A.

Vide ante page 136.

SINCE sending the MS. of my paper on Campden to the Editor of these Transactions, I have discovered something of the chronicle which describes the meeting there of the Saxon kings at the invitation of Ine, King of Wessex. The extract given from *Powel's Cambria* is from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Oxford, which once, as Hearne, the antiquary, says, was in Powel's possession. It appears to be an anonymous chronicle of the latter part of the fifteenth century, and not the work of John Bever, as Powel believed. It is a compilation to some extent, I am informed, from Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury, but I do not find in either of these any reference to the event connected with Campden which Powel relates.

There is, however, an earlier authority for it than the Trinity College MS.,—Peter Langtoft, who wrote a chronicle in metrical French, and who lived during the reign of Edward I. I give the few lines which relate to Campden in the translation of this chronicle by Robert of Brunne :—

"In Westsex was than a kyng, his (name) was Sir Ine.
When he wist of the Bretons, of werre ne wild he fine.[1]
Messengers he sent thorghout Inglond
Unto the Inglis kynges, that had it in ther hond,
And teld how the Bretons, men of mykelle myght,
The lond wild wynne ageyn thorh force and fyght.
Hastisly ilkone the kynges come full suythe,[2]
Bolde men and stoute, ther hardinesse to kithe.[3]
In a grete Daneis felde ther thei samned[4] alle,
That euer sithen hiderward Kampedene men kalle."

The election of Ine as their head is described, on the proposal of "Sigbert, king of Estsex," and then the Chronicler relates how

"Ine toke the feaute, displayed his banere,
And went to the bataile in a fulle faire grene,
That is under Kampdene, a medew I wene."

1 End. 2 Quickly, 3 Prove. 4 Assembled.

Langtoft, it will be noted, suggests *Campus Danorum* (Daneis felde) as the derivation of the name of Campden. This is, of course, most unlikely. The battle with the Britons is said to have been "in a fulle faire grene that is under Kampedene," and the conflict seems to be connected with the name of the place in Langtoft's mind, for he says of it—

"That euer sithen hiderward Kampedene men kalle."

It has before been explained that *Campden* means *the vale of battle*, and it would appear from the lines quoted that the battle thus commemorated was that fought between Ine, King of Wessex, and the Britons, in 689 A.D.

THE FAMILY OF JAMES JOHNSON, SUCCESSIVELY

SINCE the publication of my account of the family of Bishop Philadelphia, with the following notes on the descendants of who settled in America about 1713. Mr. Hildeburn's researches Dyer, and that it was his daughter, Mary, who married a the Rev. Mr. Duché.

In continuation of Memoir in Vol. VIII., p. 324.

Baldwin Johnson, from Antigua to Appoquiminink, Newcastle Co., on Delaware,[2] about 1713. = Jane, widow of William Dyer, of Newcastle County.

Edward Johnson, d. unmarried before 1769.

Mary, b. at Appoquiminink, Newcastle Co., 4 Aug. 1718. Mar. Ch. Ch. Philadelphia 9 Sept. 1736. Died at Philadelphia, 9 Nov. 1804. Bur. at Ch. Church. = Thomas Hopkinson, born in London, England, 6 April, 1709, son of Thomas Hopkinson, London, attorney-at-law, & Mary, his wife. Emig. to Pennsylvania about 1730. Clerk of the Orphan Court, Philadelphia; and Master of the Rolls, 1736-1741; Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, 1741-1751; Member of the Provincial Council, 1747-1751; first President of the Philosophical Society. A man of varied learning and great scientific attainments. Died at Philadelphia, 5 Nov., 1751. Buried at Christ Church burial ground.

Francis Hopkinson, born at Philadelphia, 21 Sep. 1737. Admitted to the Bar, 1761; Collector of the Port of Newcastle, 1772-1776; Member of the Provincial Council of New Jersey, 1774-1776; Member of the Continental Council, 1776-1778; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Judge of the Admiralty in Pennsylvania, 1778-1789; Judge of the U. S. District Court of Pennsylvania, 1789-1791; Treasurer of the Continental Loan Office; and Member of the Navy Board during the Revolution; author and wit. Dd. at Philadelphia, May 9, 1791. = Ann, da. of Jos. Borden, of Bordentown, NewJersey married at Bordentown, 1 Sep. 1768, and died there 31 Aug. 1827.

Elizabeth, born at Philadelphia, 15 Sept. 1738; mar. there 15 June, 1759; and died there 22 March, 1797. = Revd. Jacob Duché, Recr of Christ Ch. and S. Peter's Philadelphia, Chaplain to the Continental Congress; later on loyalist refugee in England.

James Hopkinson, b. 30 Oct. 1769; died 12 Aug. 1775.

Joseph Hopkinson, b. 12 Nov. 1770. An eminent lawyer, Member of Congress, Judge of the U. S. District Ct. for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, 1828-42; author of "Hail Columbia"; died 15 Jan. 1842. = Emily Mifflin 27 Feb. 1774.

Elizabeth, b. 26 July, 1776; mar. Jonathan W. Condy.

Oliver Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, and others.

Sophia Maria, died in infancy.

Thomas Spence Duché, an artist of talent; died unmar.

Esther = Wm. Hill.

Mary, died in infancy.

Elizabeth Sophia, mar. the notorious John Henry.

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER & WORCESTER.

Johnson,[1] I have been favoured by Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn, of Baldwin Johnson (son of George Johnson, of Bowden Park, Wilts) show that Baldwin Johnson married Jane, widow of William Hopkinson, and his grand-daughter, Elizabeth, who was wife of

By WALTER MONEY F.S.A.

Jane, born at Philadelphia, 3 April, 1740, died at Baltimore, 6 Aug. 1811, unm.	Mary, born 5 July, 1741, died 9th of the following month.	Mary, b. at Philadelphia, 9 Oct. 1742 ; mar. 4 Sep. 1765, John Morgan, M.D. ; Director-Genl. of Hospitals, Continental army. She died s.p. at Philadelphia, 21 Jan. 1785.	Ann, b. 23 Nov. 1745 ; m. 26 Apr. 1775, Sam. Stringer Coales, of Baltimore. ⅄	Thomas Hopkinson Clerk, b. 7 Sept. 1747. Ordained 1773 ; Rector of St. Thomas Baltimore, and elsewhere ; died 26 May, 1784, unmar.	Margaret b. 21 July, 1749, bur. at Christ Church, 9 Sept. 1751.

Mary, b. 28 Nov. 1773 ; mar. Isaac Smith.	Thomas, b. 31 Dec. 1775, d. 1 Jan. 1776.	Ann, b. 19 Oct. 1777, m. Ebenezer Stout.	Thomas, b. 23 Sept. 1779, died 5 Nov. following.	Francis, b. 13 May, 1781, mar. . . Hewitt.	Sarah, b. 26 May. 1784, died 19 Aug. in the following year.

1 Trans., Vol. VIII. p. 324.

2 The three counties now forming the State of Delaware were first granted to James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. and by him were transferred to William Penn in 1681. They were styled "the three lower counties," and had a separate Assembly. For which reasons they were never spoken of as *Newcastle, Kent, or Sussex, in Pennsylvania*, but always as *Newcastle, Kent, or Sussex, on Delaware.*

Notices of Recent Archæological Publications.

THE PIPE ROLL SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, Vols. I., II., and III. Wyman & Sons, 1884.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the value and importance of the Pipe Rolls. They are, next to the Domesday Book itself, the earliest of our ancient records, and, with the exception of two Rolls, form a complete and unbroken series from the 2nd Henry II. (1155) down to the abolition of the Pipe Office by Act of Parliament, 3rd and 4th William IV. (1833). There is one earlier Roll long supposed to be that of the 1st Henry II., and afterwards attributed to the 5th Stephen, but that learned and eminent antiquary, the late Mr. Joseph Hunter, one of the Assistant Keepers of the Public Records, who, in 1833, edited this Roll for the Record Commissioners, has conclusively shewn that it belongs to the 31st year of King Henry I.

These Rolls contain an account of all the revenues of the Crown in early times, (save those derived from the Crown lands), in each county, and are not only of great value for fiscal purposes but, from the fact that they contain evidence of the most important rights and franchises, and shew the state of society in England during many centuries, they are of great legal and social value. Moreover the records of aids and escuage, of escheats, fines, profits of lands and tenements, goods and chattels seized into the hands of the King on extents, outlawry, writs of *diem clausit extremum*, wardships, marriages, &c., &c., and other personal matters, render them of great importance to private families, for there are few names of consequence which do not occur in these Rolls, hence they are indispensable for the proof of ancient pedigrees.

The antigraphs of the Pipe Rolls, which are of the nature of duplicates, being written in the Court of Exchequer by the Chancellors' Officers at the same time as the great Roll of the Pipe, are in existence. There is no one of these, however, earlier than the 11th Henry II., and they are moreover very incomplete afterwards, and never possessed the authority of the Exchequer Rolls, consequently the safety of these early Rolls is of the highest importance, for if by any accident those that are not printed should be lost the nation would be absolutely without any evidences for the greater part of the important reign of Henry II. Those which have been printed are the following: viz., that for the 31st Henry I., mentioned above, those for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years of Henry II., the Roll for the 1st year of Richard. I. and that for the 3rd year of King John.

There being no probability that the government would, for very many years to come, undertake to print these invaluable records, a private society has been formed for the purpose of carrying out this great national work; and, commencing with the Roll for the 5th Henry II., proposes to print seriatim the remaining 29 Rolls of this King's reign.

The publications issued for the year's subscription (£1 1s.) are now before us, and represent a substantial instalment of this new society's work. This issue consists of three handsome volumes, being :—(1) The Great Roll for the 5th year of Henry II.; (2) The Great Roll for the 6th year of the same King; and (3rd) An Introduction to the Study of the Pipe Rolls.

In the preface to the last-mentioned volume, it is stated that it "is solely intended for the use of beginners who have had no opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the text, arrangement, form, and general nature of the early Pipe Rolls"; and we must say it answers its purpose admirably. It is a perfect "reading made easy." Commencing with a specimen of the text of the Rolls in *fac-simile*, the Editor goes on to give a description of the contractions and abbreviations, which form the chief difficulty with which a student would have to contend, for the text itself is as clear as Roman type, and this is followed by a long table of the contraction-forms, which the student of ancient records will find most valuable in reading other ancient documents as well as the Pipe Rolls. Similar tables have been printed before, but we know of no one so full and complete as this.

Section II., which treats of "The Systen of the Exchequer," is of great interest and utility, not only to the beginner, for whose use it is said to have been prepared, but for many persons who for years may have been in the habit of using the Pipe Rolls and other ancient records. Maddox, in his great work on the Exchequer, has treated of the procedure of the court, but that here given, which is said to have been prepared by Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, is more clear and concise, and presents to the reader a more distinct idea of the usages of the court.

The chapters on the trial of the Pyx, and on the Exchequer Tallies, will be found new to most readers. The use of these latter symbols, though cumbrous, was doubtless practically convenient in early times when even sheriffs of counties were often illiterate. To the whole is added an excellent Glossary.

We are glad to see that the Pipe Roll Society possesses already a goodly List of Members, in which we recognise the names of many eminent antiquaries, and we trust that it may receive that support which it deserves, not only from private individuals but from local Archæological & Historical Societies and Public Subscription Libraries. Any antiquary wishing to support this praiseworthy scheme should apply to Mr. J. Greenstreet (*Hon. Sec.*), 2, Dartmouth Villas, Stanstead Road, Catford, Kent, or send a subscription to Mr. Walford D. Selby (*Hon. Treasurer*), Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London.

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BIBLIOTHECA DORSETIENSIS, being a carefully compiled account of Printed Books and Pamphlets relating to the History and Topography of the County of Dorset. By Charles Herbert Mayo, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford; Vicar of Long Barton, Dorset, and Rural Dean of Shaftesbury. Second portion. Small 4to.

Mr. Mayo has undertaken a most arduous task in attempting to compile a Bibliotheca of the County of Dorset, and all persons who take an interest in

Topographical history must be very grateful to him for the labour he has bestowed upon the handsomely printed volume he has issued at a very moderate cost to the public. His aim has been to include in it whatever has issued from the press, *in a separate form*, relating to the History and Topography of the County, including its Natural History, Dialect, Social Life, and the Biography of Eminent Natives. Those books, however, which refer to the whole of England, and therefore necessarily include this County, have not been introduced for the reason that they have already been noted in "The Book of British Topography," by Mr. J. P. Anderson.

We cannot help thinking this omission is to be regretted. There are many essays and fugitive articles scattered in Reviews and Periodicals of great interest and value, and it would have been more convenient for the student of the history of Dorset to have had references to all authorities on the subject brought together into one volume instead of having to seek for information in a different work not always readily obtainable.

Mr. Mayo, instead of introducing the various works alphabetically under the authors' names, has classified them into two Divisions, which are sub-divided under various headings, and at the end has given an Index to the authors. This would seem to us to be, in some respects, an advantage. The headings are very numerous, perhaps rather too numerous, and unfortunately the author has not supplied a Table of Contents shewing where any particular class of works would be found. His first great Division consists of works generally relating to the county, and this is arranged under the following heads:—Histories and Descriptions; Tours; Guide Books; Directories; Antiquarian Literature; Historical Literature; Political Pamphlets, &c.; a Hoard of Election Handbills, under several sub-heads; County Affairs; Assizes, &c., and Sermons; Ecclesiastical Literature; Works illustrating Social Life; The Dorset Dialect; Agricultural Publications; Natural History; Almanacks, Newspapers; Acts of Parliament for making and repairing Roads, Bridges, &c., and Maps of Dorset.

The second Divisions contains "Works relating to Particular Parishes," and under this head the several parishes are arranged in alphabetical order. Following this is a Table of Addenda of Works received too late to be placed in their proper position, and a List of the Printers of Dorset, the compilation of which must have been a work of no ordinary labour.

We have thus laid before the reader the plan of the work. The bibliographical descriptions are all that can be desired, and the Collection of Civil War Tracts and the history of the County Newspapers are of much interest. The work, however, is by no means complete, which is acknowledged by the author, who contemplates at a future date to prepare a companion to the present volume, to contain an account of the writings of natives and inhabitants of the county in the various classes of literature, for the compilation of which he solicits communications of memoranda of their works and biographical particulars of the authors.

The work is privately printed, and consists of only a small impression of 50 large paper and 300 small paper copies, which may be obtained from the author, the former at the price of 26s. and the latter of 13s.

CHURCH PLATE in the Archdeaconry of Worcester, being an Inventory and Notice of the Sacred Vessels in use in the different Churches, with an Explanatory Introduction. By William Lea, M.A., Archdeacon of Worcester. Worcester: Deighton & Co.; London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

We conceive that it is one of the primary duties of an Archdeacon, especially since the abeyance of the disciplinary jurisdiction which formerly pertained to that high office, to exercise the chief guardianship of the fabrics, of the ornaments and utensils of the church and of the ministers thereof, and also of the other possessions attached to the benefices in their respective archdeaconries. It is very gratifying, and a fact of great promise for the welfare of the church, that Archdeacon Lea has recognised this duty intuitively, and it is to be hoped that the action he has taken therein in respect to the Sacred Vessels and the Parish Registers in the Archdeaconry of Worcester will become an inducement to other archdeacons to do the same, and lead to a general Survey of Church Goods, including the Vestments of the clergy and other articles though not now "in use," and to the official record of the authenticated Inventories in the Registries of the Bishops or of the Archdeacons, and to a periodical inspection at the Archdeacon's Visitation.

Much valuable Church Plate has been disposed of within the last few years. And many of the old Parish Registers, which were in their proper custody as late as 1831, as shewn by the Parliamentary Returns printed with the Census Papers of that year, cannot now be found.

Archdeacon Lea's Introduction to his Inventory is a very instructive compilation upon a subject of great interest, and one little understood, and will be most useful, especially to the clergy. It cannot fail to lead them to a higher appreciation of the treasures in their charge. It was only three or four years ago, we believe, that some very valuable old Church Plate belonging to one of the churches in Gloucester was offered for sale at the price of old silver, because it was "heavy and cumbrous," but this coming to the knowledge of the Bishop the sale was forbidden. There is, however, now for sale at a silversmith's in Bristol a very handsome flagon from a Gloucestershire church. With reference to such Plate Archdeacon Lea says "We should remember that they are vessels from which, for three centuries or more, generation after generation of the faithful have received the Body and Blood of their Lord, to the strengthening and refreshing of their souls." It is therefore time that such measures as Archdeacon Lea has intuitively initiated should be generally adopted.

The Archdeacon's classification of the Altar Plate may, though arbitrary, unless a better nomenclature may be devised, well serve for general adoption, for it is very desirable that, in carrying out this design, there should be an uniform system. There does not seem to be a single example left in the Archdeaconry of Worcester of the pre-Reformation plate, nor of the Cups which were ordered in the time of Edward VI. to supersede the ancient chalices, supposed to have been polluted in the service of the mass, notwithstanding that on the general robbery of church valuables in the last year of the boy King the Commissioners were commanded to leave "one, two or more challices or cuppes according to the multitude of the people."

On the accession of Queen Mary there was a general restoration of chalices of the ancient type, but these and also the Edwardian cups, with rare exceptions, perished during the reign of Elizabeth.

Archdeacon Lea therefore makes his first class to comprise the Elizabethan cups so common and so well known. Our space will not admit of our giving a description of these cups, which are of a peculiar type, and are found everywhere from Cumberland to Cornwall. The Archdeacon states that there are no fewer than eighty-four in his archdeaconry. They are all nearly of the same date, very closely alike in their form and in the detail of their ornamentation. This would lead to the supposition that some order and pattern must have been given for their manufacture, but, notwithstanding the closest search of every class of record, no such order can be found. It has, consequently, been thought that they must have originated from some private order of Archbishop Parker, but in this case we should expect to find them limited to the southern province, but this is by no means the case. Nevertheless their uniformity of form and fashion must lead to the conclusion that they were made by some authority, and because many are found to be of the date and bearing the hall-mark of 1571 Archdeacon Lea has suggested that this style of cup originated in the indignation arising from the Pope's formal excommunication and deposition of Queen Elizabeth in this year, but some few of this type of cup have been found of an earlier date, and Mr. Cripps is of opinion that they may have been made under some unrecorded order of the convocation of 1562. Still the absence of authority for the uniform character and wide dispersion of the cup is wanting. This is the greatest enigma connected with Church Plate. The Archdeacon's other patterns are: The Puritan, The Peculiar, The Modern Plain and The Modern Mediæval, which forms he respectively describes and illustrates. Of the "Peculiar class" we will say a few words. These cups, we believe, generally were not made for sacred use, but have been given for adornment of the House of God by the devotion of the pious donors. Some of them are wholly unfit, and would be most inconvenient from their size and shape, to use as communion cups. There is one at Bodmin, Cornwall, more than 2 ft. high, figured in Vol. VII., Plate XXV. of our Transactions, another similar one at St. Maben in the same county, and others might be named. These secular standing-cups were given, we believe, for the decoration of the altar and for adding to its dignity.

We are glad to see that the Archdeacon strongly condemns everything like a "sham" in the service of the church. "Whatever is used in the celebration of our highest service (he says) should, at any rate, be real of its kind . . . . if we cannot have silver let us put up for a time with pewter, which was not uncommon at the time of the Reformation, rather than something which makes a pretence of being better than it is."

NOTES AND QUERIES.—We are glad to see that the number of local *Notes & Queries* is gradually increasing. It shews that people, both men and women, do not now, as heretofore, walk through the world with their eyes shut, but are more observant, taking an intelligent interest in what they see and shewing a desire to preserve relics of the past, and to seek for information upon subjects which they do not understand. This spirit of enquiry should be encouraged, and is indeed much fostered by the class of periodicals which we are noticing.

Among these publications we must give the first place to our old friend GLOUCESTERSHIRE NOTES AND QUERIES, which, from its local character, has

special claims upon our attention, and which, under the able editorship of Mr. Blacker, is steadily increasing in value and importance. The October number is a very good one. It contains the continuation from former numbers of an excellent paper entitled *Notes on the Parish of Wickwar*, from a MS. volume compiled by the late Mr. John Roberts, of Wickwar, M.R.C.S.L., in 1844, extracted by permission of Miss Roberts, the present owner. The article is not yet concluded, and will eventually form a very valuable addition to the topography of the county as it is apparently based upon original and authentic documents. It seems to us to be regretable that Mr. Roberts' MS. was not printed in its entirety.

There are also other valuable contributions, among which we may mention *Notes on the Parish of Pitchcombe*, which is of the same class as the above, and is not yet completed; and also a description of the *Parish Church of Tytherington*, by Mr. T. T. Pope, of Bristol, architect, which will be read with interest.

"The Western Antiquary," *or Devon, Cornwall and Somerset Note Book* continues its useful course. The last number opens with a notice of *John Ford*, or Forde, *a Dramatic writer and his "Linea Vitæ,"* by Dr. Brushfield. After a brief sketch of the life of this Devonian worthy, the author refers to his works, and especially to the *Line of Life*, which is a panegyric on King James I., and he points out that in the collection of the works of Ford, printed by the Shakespeare Society, in the tract alluded to there is a paragraph descriptive of the character of Sir Walter Raleigh, which is found to be incomplete, a page being wanting; and the same hiatus exists in the edition of Ford's works by Dyce, published in 1869. Dr. Brushfield has been so fortunate as to recover the missing portion from a contemporary copy of the tract preserved in a Miscellaneous Volume among the Lansdown MSS. No. 350, and has printed it in his article. It is very quaint and curious, and Dr. Brushfield's paper is well worth perusal.

In our "Notice" of *The History of Launceston and Dunheved*, in the first part of this volume, p. 213, we pointed out the desirability of the identification of the Knights' Fees anciently pertaining to the Castle of Launceston. We are very glad to see that our desire has been already partially accomplished. Mr. Evelyn W. Rashleigh has in this part of the "*Western Antiquary*," published *an Abstract of the Lands held by the Castle of Launceston*, printed from an ancient Roll, now apparently lost. The list gives the names of all the manors, though it does not specify the precise services by which they were respectively held, but this can, without much difficulty, be obtained by a reference to the Inquisitions *post mortem* of the several tenants, which will shew the extent of the services due. There is also in this part an interesting note by Mrs. Edmund Boger on *William of Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton in 1204, &c., &c., who died in 1217-8.*

Since the above has been in type we have received the number of the "Western Antiquary for September." It contains among other articles of much interest a Memoir of Rodolph Eric Raspe, the author of *The Travels of Baron Munchausen*, by Mr. Robert Hunt, F.R.S., of the Geological Museum in Jermyn St. Raspe was born at Hanover in 1737. He was very poor, but well educated, and a man of extraordinary abilities, but very lax morality. Mr. Hunt gives a very succinct account of his eventful life and

of his writings. He was a mineralogist of remarkable skill, and was for a short time employed in the then infant system of copper smelting in Cornwall and Swansea. He formed, Mr. Hunt tells us, the original of Sir Walter Scott's German miner, *Dousterswivel.*

Mr. J. R. Chanter gives an interesting account of some mural paintings discovered in the church of Barnstaple during the process of "restoration" in 1869, which he calls Antique Frescoes, but they would seem from the description to be nothing more than paintings in distemper. The devices were found under a succession of layers of whitewash, consisting in the upper layers of texts of scripture in large black letters of the Elizabethan period, which are supposed to be certain texts which the Borough records show were painted within the church in 1592. Underneath these were found other texts in "beautifully formed unicle letters of the 14th century" painted in red. Stripping off all the accumulated layers of whitewash, upon the original stucco itself, or on a prepared coating, were found large groups of figures of life size, mostly in black outline, although traces of colour were observable, but the stucco was found to be in such a friable mouldering condition that it was impossible to identify the subject of the designs or to preserve or remove them; but tracings and photographs have been taken. Fragmentary remains of other similar ornamentations were found in many other parts of the church, painted in most brilliant colours, as fresh and bright when uncovered as when first laid on, but the colours rapidly faded when exposed to the air.

THE PALATINE NOTE BOOK. This very useful and well conducted serial, from some unadvoidable circumstances, has appeared very irregularly this year, of which an intimation was given in the May number, which commenced a new volume. We trust it is not for lack of the support which it so well deserves. The last Part issued contained the Index to Vol. IV., and hence there was not so much matter as usual. In it, however, is given the descents of the Adlingtons, of Adlington, and some other interesting articles, and there is a promise of some good papers in the next issue.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

MR. C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A., and Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and the Rev. H. G. TOMKINS, Member of the Royal Archæological Institute, &c., &c., are preparing for publication, in November or December, in medium 4to, a descriptive account of the *Ancient Stronghold of Worlebury*, in Co. Somerset, one of the most interesting and instructive primitive fortresses existing in the British Islands. The work will embrace a full description, the result of a complete investigation, of the design and structure of this remarkable camp, with a special report on the remains discovered, including its osteology and craniology, together with illustrations, extending to 12 plates, of the pottery, weapons, ornaments, &c. The price to subscribers will be 12s. 6d., which will be increased when the subscription list is closed. Application should be made to C. W. Dymond, Esq., F.S.A., &c., 3, Forefield Place, Bath.

In Memorias.

HENRY THOMAS ELLACOMBE.

On the 30th July, in the 96th year of his age, was taken to his rest the Rev. Henry Thomas Ellacombe, M.A., F.S.A., the most venerable and one of the most active of the members of our Society. He was son of the Rev. William Ellicombe, Rector of Alphington, Co. Devon, and was born there in 1790. He matriculated as from Oriel College, Oxford, in 1808, and took his B.A. degree in 1812. Like his elder brother, General Sir Charles Greene Ellicombe, K.C.B., he was in early life designed for the engineers, and after leaving Oxford was engaged in the study of that science in Chatham Dockyard, under the celebrated Mr. Brunel, the elder, until 1816. Circumstances, however, led him to change his views, and take Holy Orders. In the last-mentioned year he proceeded M.A., and was ordained deacon to the parish of Cricklade, Co. Wilts, but in the diocese of Gloucester. In the following year he was admitted to Priest's Orders, and removed to Bitton, in this county, in which parish he never ceased to take a lively interest, as we shall presently see. He continued curate at Bitton until 1835, when he was instituted to the vicarage there. He was a man of most active habits, both mentally and physically. Besides being an accomplished horticulturist, to which the gardens at Bitton will long bear witness, he was a zealous student in most branches of archæological lore, and in 1827 was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1850 he received preferment to the rectory of Clyst St. George, Co. Devon, and was succeeded at Bitton by his son, the Rev. H. N. Ellacombe, M.A., Hon. Canon of Bristol Cathedral, the present vicar, and a member of the Council of our Society.

Mr. Ellacombe's first published work was *Practical Remarks on Belfries and Ringers*, which was read before the Bristol Architectural Society in 1849, and has gone through several editions.

In 1865 he published the *History of the Parish of Clyst St. George*, but the chief subject of his studies was Campanology—the History of Bells, Bell-founders and Bell-ringing, upon which he became an authority of European repute. He also took great interest in the restoration of churches, and restored his own church of Clist St. George in an excellent manner, much of the permanent decorations of which he wrought with his own hands —some portions of it when far advanced in years. He also invented an apparatus which enabled a boy to chime a whole ring of bells without difficulty. This apparatus, which was first fixed at Bath in 1819, has since, we believe, been adopted in Exeter Cathedral, and many other churches.

Mr. Ellacombe's next publication on Campanology was the *Church Bells of Devon, with a list of those of Cornwall, and a Supplement on various matters relating to the Bells of the Church*. A most elaborate work, which

was issued in 1872, and attracted much notice. This was followed in 1874 by a treatise on *The Cathedral Bells of Exeter;* in 1875 by *The Church Bells of Somerset;* and in 1881 by *The Church Bells of Gloucestershire.* Of his last work, *The History of the Parish of Bitton,* for which he says he has been collecting materials from the beginning of his residence in the parish, the first Part was issued in the same year (1881), and the second in 1883. The Preface to the first part he concludes with, in his case, at the age of 91 years, the touching words translated from a Greek colophon motto. "Ye who from your natural disposition, as well as from your education, are in all things good and kindly affectionate, and moderate. . . . . be favourable to this work." And who would not be so disposed towards this veteran author half through his tenth decade !

Mr. Ellacombe retained his faculties, and was in the habit of taking a part in the services of his church to the last, which he did in a clear and distinct voice.

KEDGWIN HOSKINS FRYER.

The Society has just sustained another loss in the death of Mr. Kedgwin Hoskins Fryer, Alderman of Gloucester, one of the original members of the Society, and a member of the Council. He was the third son of Mr. Henry Hooper Fryer, attorney at law, practising at Tewkesbury, and late of Lamb's Quay, near Coleford, in which latter town his elder brother, Mr. Henry Hooper Fryer, a careful and industrious antiquary, practised the same profession, to whom the lately deceased gentleman was articled.

Mr. Kedgwin Hoskins Fryer was born at Tewkesbury in 1814, and having, upon the expiration of his articles in 1838, been admitted an attorney, he entered the office of his cousin, Mr. Henry Hooper Wilton, Town Clerk of Gloucester, whom he continued to assist in his business until his death in 1851. Mr. Fryer was then appointed Clerk to the "Gloucester Local Board of Health," and in 1865, upon the resignation of Mr. Jenkins, he succeeded that gentleman in the office of Town Clerk, which he continued to hold till 1883. The important duties of this office he performed most faithfully and efficiently, to the entire satisfaction of the Corporation of the City, insomuch that in the November following, though not then a member of the Corporation, he was specially elected, under a recent Act of Parliament and as an acknowledgment of his valuable services, Mayor and Chief Magistrate of the city, and was subsequently elected an Alderman.

Mr. Fryer had been in failing health for some few years, and was subject to attacks of giddiness. On Wednesday, October 14th, accompanied by Mrs. Fryer, he went to Weymouth for a short change, and having dined went out for a short walk in the evening. Unfortunately he fell into the water at the harbour and perished before assistance reached him, for though he still breathed when taken up, and though a surgeon was on the spot immediately, no attempt was made to restore animation.

Mr. Fryer was descended from three respectable families, whose names he bore, which were of long continuance on the western side of the Forest

of Dean, to which the registers of the parishes of Newland and St. Briavel's bear witness. The registers of the former parish commence in 1560, and the first entry is the baptism of Jane, daughter of William Kedgyn, of Clowerwall, and the entries in this name are numerous during the following century and a half. We have no note of the marriage of a lady of this family to a Hoskin, but in 1618 we find the baptism of William, son of Kedgewin Hoskin, of Clowerwall. From this date we find the name of Kedgwin Hoskin continuously in the registers. A William Hoskin was in possession of the manor of Stow, in St. Briavels, early in the 17th century; and in 1670, Kedgwin Hoskin, of Stow, married Mary, daughter of Edmund Bond, of Walford, a younger son of Richard Bond, of Redbrook,[1] in the parish of Newland, by Blanche, daughter and co-heir of George Catchmay,[2] of Michel Troy, Co. Monmouth. This Kedgwyn was probably the grandson of the Kedwin Hoskyn, of Stow, who built the present house there in 1635, and the ancestor of a Kedgwin Hoskins, gent., buried at St. Briavels in 1743, and of Kedgwin Hoskyns, Esq., buried at the same place in 1764.

Of the Fryers we have not so many notes, but they were resident at Coleford early in the 18th century.[3] Mr. Richard Fryer, of Coleford, was buried at Newland in 1754. Nor have we the date of the alliance with the Hoskin family, but the long use of the name would imply such alliances.

Mr. Fryer took took an active interest in our Society from its formation, and frequently attended the meetings, sometimes accompanied by Mrs. Fryer. At the first meeting of the Society, held at Gloucester, 1876, he read a memoir on the *Archives of the City of Gloucester*, which is printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society, and he has subsequently read others before the Society.

1 The arms of Bond, of Redbrook, were *ar. upon a chevron sa. seven plates.*

2 The arms of Catchmay are *Or a fess, between three demi-lions passant, az.*

3 It may be noted that a Sir Edward ffryer was incumbent priest of King Edward's Chantry, at Newland, in 2nd Edward VI.

JAMES HERBERT COOKE,

The Society has just suffered a further serious loss in the death, on the 24th October, 1885, of Mr. James Herbert Cooke, F.S.A., one of the original members of the Society, a member of the Council, and Local Secretary for Berkeley. Mr. Cooke was the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Herbert Cooke, of Whittlebury, Northamptonshire, for many years Steward of the Berkeley estates, and was born in 1822, at Gaydon, Northamptonshire. On the death of his father, about 1853, he succeeded to his office at Berkeley, and has, from that day to his death, enjoyed the entire confidence both of the late and the present Baron, and has also been very popular with the tenantry. In 1885, he married Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Thomas Rogers, of Helston, Cornwall, attorney-at-law, who survives him, but has had no family.

Mr. Cooke has always taken great interest in historical and archæological pursuits, and in 1874 was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In the following year he exhibited and presented to that Society several letters patent under the Great Seal for the appointment of Paymasters of

Marines, which had descended to him from an ancestor who had been deputy to three of them; and at the same time he intimated that he had in his possession a large amount of official and private correspondence derived from the same source.

In 1877 he exhibited, and afterwards presented, to the same Society, a small brass escutcheon with the arms of England, which had been enamelled. Such articles have been several times brought under notice. They are considered to have been used as ornaments for horse furniture. In 1881 he exhibited a Neolithic flint implement, found at Stinchcombe Hill in a bed of angular gravel.

As stated above, Mr. Cooke was one of the original members of our Society, and he acted as guide at Berkeley Castle on the visit of the Society to that famous fortress at the first annual meeting of the Society, held at Gloucester in August, 1876, and on that occasion he read a paper *On the Ancient Inscriptions in the Chapel of Berkeley Castle, with some account of John Trevisa.* In the following year he read a memoir on *The Tyndales in Gloucestershire.* In 1878 he read a paper entitled, *The Great Berkeley Law-Suit of the 15th and 16th Centuries: a Chapter of Gloucestershire History.* In 1881 the Society was favoured by him with a memoir on *The Berkeley Manuscripts, and their Author, John Smyth.* The following year he furnished a memoir on *Wanswell Court and its Occupants for Seven Centuries.* In 1883 he contributed a monograph *on a Roman road from Corinium to Lydney.* So that there is scarcely a volume of the Society's Transactions, but has been enriched by his facile and able pen, now for ever stopped; but these are not the only obligations for which the Society is indebted to the memory of the late Mr. Cooke, for it is believed that it was mainly through his influence that Lord Fitz Harding kindly sanctioned the printing by the Society of the Berkeley Manuscripts.

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